The martyrdom of Fr. Ignácio de Azevedo and his 39 companions en route from Portugal to Brazil in 1570. Augsburg, ca. 1570. Author's collection.

# The Making of an Enterprise

*The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540–1750*

DAURIL ALDEN

*Stanford University Press*
*Stanford, California*

*To those who paved the way*

Charles R. Boxer

Serafim Leite, S.J.

Josef Wicki, S.J.

Ludwig von Pastor

And, of course, to Leopold von Ranke

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# PREFACE

AMONG THE MOST spectacular features of the expansion of Europe during the early modern period were the impressive evangelical campaigns undertaken by many religious Orders. These Orders included well-established, familiar ones such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, as well as the newly formed Society or Company of Jesus. Like their Mendicant rivals, the Jesuits conceived of their spiritual enterprises as precious opportunities to emulate the apostles. The Jesuits believed that with sufficient resources they could revive and strengthen the beliefs of wayward Christians at home and convert the heathens beyond Europe to what Catholics were convinced was the true faith. As the Society's members distinguished themselves as educators of the young among Europe's elites, as confessors and advisors of its leaders, as orators, theologians, and scholars, and as missionaries on five continents, the Society gained the reputation of being one of the most dynamic Orders of the Church, one fervently admired by its supporters and friends, but passionately detested by its detractors and enemies.

A half century ago, a well-known Austrian admirer of the Society observed that "writings concerning the Society of Jesus may be numbered by the thousands; from the foundation of the order to the present day, every epoch, and almost every people and every tongue, has produced an extensive literature relating to the Jesuits. . . . Few . . . attempt to treat the subject objectively, while the remainder are all concerned either with reviling or accusing or with praising and defending."[1] Those comments are as valid today as they were when René Fülöp-Miller wrote them in 1930. Within the past decade or so, for example, besides Fülöp-Miller's own repeatedly reissued book, there have appeared four volumes that promise to reveal unrealized subtleties concerning Jesuit life and the Society's objectives. One by J. C. H. Aveling, a former Anglican priest and an ex–Benedictine monk, is a supposedly "definitive history" of the Society, although it uses not one archival source and is riddled with factual blunders. The same is true of a book by Manfred Barthel, a well-published German writer on religious topics, who revives the myths of Jesuit "riches" and their supposedly "sealed"

1. René Fülöp-Miller, *The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus*, trans. F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait (1930; rpr., New York, 1963), iii.

archives. The best-known author of the lot, Malachi Martin, proprietor of "Malachi Martin Enterprises, Ltd.," an ex-Jesuit and an ex–curia official, offered a lurid account that made the *New York Times* best-seller list. He, too, is interested in myths; he unearthed the hoary one that portrayed the Jesuits as conspirators against legitimate authorities, but he dressed it up in modern garb. According to Martin, instead of allegedly fomenting regicide, today's leaders of the Society are intent upon attacking their special guardian, the pope himself, in order to destroy the very foundations of Catholicism. Of course, Martin offers no more proof of his assertions than did previous generations of anti-Jesuit mythmakers. Finally, there is the ambitious, archive-based study by a Yankee expatriate academician who teaches at a South Australia university. A. Lynn Martin's most recent book is an attempt to probe the "Jesuit mind" in late-sixteenth-century France, but his account falls short of fulfilling the promise of its title.[2]

This study is quite different in its conception, its objectives, and its evidentiary base from those cited above. Its focus is upon what the Society defined as the Portuguese Assistancy, a vast complex of administrative units that included the kingdom of Portugal and its empire, portions of the Indian subcontinent, Japan, China, Southeast Asia, and certain lesser territories. This is the first of two volumes. It begins with the founding of the Society and its entrance into Portugal in the early 1540s and extends to 1750, when the last Portuguese monarch sympathetic to the Society expired. A second volume, *The Destruction of an Enterprise*, currently in preparation, will show why the Jesuits were arrested and expelled from the empire and kingdom of Portugal, the first state to have welcomed them; what subsequently happened to members of the Assistancy; and what the state did with their far-flung assets.

Typically, writers concerned with the history of the Jesuits have been participants in an organized religion. Their adherence to a particular faith has inevitably shaped their judgments concerning one of the Church's most controversial Orders. I bear no religious affiliation and hold no brief for or against the Jesuits or any other religious body. Yet I confess that one of the reasons why I chose to study the Jesuits was to challenge my own sense of scholarly objectivity. I fully recognize that, like all ideals, complete objectivity is unattainable, but I remain convinced that it is the only legitimate road a historian ought to pursue.[3] Much has been written and will continue to be written concerning Jesuit contributions to theology, missiology, the arts, and the sciences.[4] Though I concede their importance, I have chosen to examine quite different themes.

One concerns the Society's perennial manpower problem within the Assistancy: despite enthusiastic promises of wholesale conversions of non-Europeans to what Catholics believed

2. In the order cited, the four books are J. C. H. Aveling, *The Jesuits* (1981; rpr., New York, 1987); Manfred Barthel, *The Jesuits: History and Legend of the Society of Jesus* (New York, 1984); Malachi Martin, *The Jesuits: The Society of Jesus and the Betrayal of the Roman Catholic Church* (New York, 1987); and A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

3. I am naturally sobered by the findings of Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988). For an evaluation, see James T. Kloppenberg, "Objectivity and Historicism: A Century of American Historical Writing," *American Historical Review* 94, 4 (Oct. 1989): 1011–30.

4. László Polgár, S.J., *Bibliographie sur l'histoire de la compagnie de Jésus 1901–1980*, 6 vols. in 3 (Rome, 1981–90).



to be the true faith, there were never sufficient field-workers even to attempt to achieve such an objective. But where did Jesuits who served the Assistancy originate? Were most of those who labored in this Assistancy Portuguese or foreigners? Did they come from all parts of the kingdom or only certain sections? Who was excluded from membership? Why? What sorts of deviants were quietly eliminated, in part to safeguard the Society's carefully shaped public image? Who gained promotions to influential positions within the Society and who were condemned to be the hewers of wood, the haulers of water? Partial answers to these questions come from the Society's rich personnel records and from studies by its genealogists.

A major theme that shaped Jesuit activity from the outset was the Society's relations with the heads of government in Portugal and elsewhere. Is there evidence that in this Assistancy the Jesuits deliberately involved themselves in political affairs and, in fact, dictated their outcome? Or were they the creatures of capricious rulers and their self-serving lieutenants? Why did the Portuguese crown exploit the administrative and diplomatic talents of Jesuits to undertake tasks unrelated to their spiritual commitments? Could the Jesuits have declined to serve? What explains the shift in the crown's attitude toward the Society, from zealous devotion during the sixteenth century to near indifference by the mid-eighteenth century? The search for answers to these and related questions has required forays into the political, military, and diplomatic history of Portugal and its empire.

From the outset of this project I have sought answers to a series of fundamental questions. They include: Why, how, and to what extent did the Society become involved in the imperial economy? How lucrative were its financial enterprises? Did Jesuits really desert God for Mammon, as their opponents so persistently charged? Did they surrender their early spiritual commitment in order to pursue material goals? The quest for answers to such questions has led to inquiries into the magnitude of the crown's economic concessions to the Society and the regularity of the payment of its promised subventions. It has uncovered the identities of many of the Society's large and small benefactors—Portuguese and non-Lusitanian—and the extent of their contributions; and it has revealed the forms of infrastructure that the Jesuits built to support their ambitious enterprises. That infrastructure included the development of great estates producing wheat and other European grains, livestock, cane sugar, rice, coconuts, cacao, and other forest crops. As will be seen, the success of such activities provoked heated criticism from secular and religious rivals, and even from some members of the Order itself, and aroused the suspicions of the crown. But the crown's efforts to restrain the growth of the Society's latifundia were futile, and its efforts to compel the Jesuits to pay tithes upon their holdings were only partly successful. In Brazil, the development of vast rural estates presented the Jesuits with a serious dilemma: on the one hand, they were fervent opponents of the enslavement of the Amerindians, but on the other, they were the largest institutional owners of slaves of African origin or descent. How did Jesuits reconcile their seemingly contradictory position on the issue of human slavery? Were there viable alternatives to the activities of Jesuits as rentiers and landlords? Were their trading activities in cloth, gems, and other commodities conducted on a scale commensurate with the assumptions of their critics, then and now? How successful were the Jesuits as investors in maritime insurance and in personal and government annuities, and as lenders to their friends? Did the components

of the Assistancy really need all of the capital they raised? How did they expend their income? And what accounts for the Jesuits' dismal record of achievement in Africa, their partial withdrawal from Asian portions of the Assistancy, their continued expansion in Brazil, and their cultural eclipse in Portugal during the first half of the eighteenth century? The chapters assembled in Parts III, IV, and V of this study offer answers to these and related questions.

The broad character of this inquiry has provided frequent opportunities for comparative insights. The geographic expanse and cultural diversity of the Assistancy make possible certain kinds of comparison, although it must be conceded that the paper trail of Jesuit enterprise is thickest for Portugal, Brazil, and India, where most Jesuits resided and performed, and consequently their activities in those lands receive greater emphasis than those in other parts of the Assistancy. The search for appropriate contexts in which to situate Jesuit problems and responses has required probing the general history of church–state relations during the Middle Ages, particularly the exceptionally rich literature pertaining to England before the ascendancy of the Tudors. Additional light has been shed by comparing Jesuit activities within the Portuguese Assistancy with Jesuit experiences in the French and Spanish Assistancies.

This project has occupied more than two decades and has necessitated extensive financial support. At critical junctures I have received aid from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon), the Council for Research of the Economic History Association, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (via the Vatican Film Library, Saint Louis University), the Meyer Foundation (Melbourne, Australia), the National Endowment for the Humanities (via the Newberry Library, Chicago, and also a direct summer grant), and the Graduate School of the University of Washington. I remain exceedingly grateful not only to each of these institutions but also to my long-suffering referees and to the advisory committees that recommended acceptance of my proposals. Such aid has permitted me to conduct research on five continents in more than 35 archives and in general and specialized libraries, both public and private. I am deeply appreciative of the opportunities to work at liberty in such facilities, and I thank the directors and their staffs for their consistently excellent cooperation and service.

Though I have never enjoyed the services of a research assistant, I have been significantly aided, encouraged, and stimulated by a host of friends and colleagues. Several took valuable time away from their own studies to read and rigorously comment upon drafts of some of the chapters offered here in revised form. In particular, I wish to thank Roderick and Jean Barman; Rudy Bauss; Woodrow W. Borah; the late Ernest J. Burrus, S.J.; the late Manoel Cardozo; Tom Cohen; John Correia-Afonso, S.J.; Edith B. Couturier; James S. Cummins; Nicholas P. Cushner; Karubaki Datta; Anthony R. Disney; Francis A. Dutra; Neusa Rodrigues Esteves; George E. Ganns, S.J.; the late Maurício Gomes dos Santos, S.J.; Nigel Griffin; June E. Hahner; William F. Harrison; Mathias C. Kiemen, O.F.M.; John V. Lombardi (now president of the University of Florida); Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.; Joseph C. Miller; Charles O'Neill, S.J. (former director of the Society's Historical Institute in Rome); the late José Honório Rodrigues; Carla M. Philipps; Stuart B. Schwartz; Chandra



Richard de Silva; and Dorothy Winters Welker. I especially wish to express my gratitude to George D. Winius, well-known specialist on the eastern Portuguese empire, for his supportive reader's report.

Several members of my department have repeatedly responded to my queries with bibliographical and other sorts of information and have lent materials from their own libraries. I especially wish to thank Jere L. Bacharach, Frank F. Conlon, Mary O'Neill, and Joan C. Ullman, as well as my former colleague Caroline Bynum. I must also express my deep appreciation to Ruth M. Kirk, former head of the Interlibrary Borrowing Service of the library of the University of Washington, and her efficient staff and their successors for having obtained for me numerous materials cited in this study.

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But my greatest debts are to those who have most decisively facilitated this study and its sequel. They include my ever-supportive, usually understanding wife, Beata, who generously equipped me with my first computer. My sons, Bryson and Grant, helped with solving some of its enigmas, but my principal gurus have been Drs. Asunción and David Lavrin, who have not only made me minimally computer-literate and enabled me to manipulate typed portions of the manuscript, but for more than two decades have also provided exceptional hospitality during my sojourns in Washington, D.C., and have assisted me in many other important ways. I also wish to record my thanks to the late Piedade Rato, longtime photographer for Portugal's Overseas Archives, who tirelessly filmed many manuscripts for me in various Lisbon archives. Nor can I forbear expressing my sincere appreciation to Grant Barnes, director emeritus of Stanford University Press, for his many years of warm friendship, and particularly for his faith in and support of this project.

Finally, my thanks to the pathfinders for whom this volume is dedicated. Without their ground-breaking work, the preparation of this study would have been impossible. I have been fortunate to know three of them: C. R. Boxer, Serafim Leite, and Josef Wicki; obviously, both Ludwig von Pastor and Leopold von Ranke belonged to an earlier generation, but they continue to serve as models of thorough, careful scholarship. For more than two decades, Charles R. Boxer, the doyen of Portuguese imperial studies, has been an exceptionally generous friend, first in Chicago at the now-famed Newberry Conference on Colonial Brazil, then at the Lilly Library at Indiana University, later in several Australian cities, but best of all in his remarkable library in his comfortable rural home in Hertfordshire. Even though we have disagreed on minor interpretations of Jesuit enterprise, Professor Boxer has been consistently supportive and ever generous by providing me with access to his unique manuscript and book collection and by inspiring me with exceptionally stimulating

and informative conversations concerning Portuguese imperial history. At an early stage in this project, the late Serafim Leite, then nearing the end of his remarkably productive life, encouraged my undertaking while recognizing that my concerns were very different from what his had been. I am also grateful to him for placing me in contact with another venerable resident of the Lisbonense Jesuit center known as Brotéria, the late Maurício Gomes dos Santos, with whom I had many fruitful talks. In Rome, Fr. Josef Wicki, a superlative editor, kindly guided me to sources in the library of the Society's Historical Institute and to manuscript materials in its archives that I would otherwise have missed, whereas his former colleague, Fr. Charles O'Neill, frequently offered me genial, spirited, and always informative instruction in matters Jesuitica. To each of those mentioned and to others whose names I can no longer recall, I offer my deep-felt thanks. Naturally, for all the "faults escaped," as Thomas Hariot once wrote, I alone bear full responsibility.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
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| *ABNRJ* | *Anais da biblioteca nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1876–) |
| *ACE* | *Assentos do conselho do estado*, ed. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, 5 vols. (Bastorá, 1953–57) |
| ACL | Academia das Ciências de Lisboa |
| AERJ | Arquivo do Estado, Rio de Janeiro |
| *AHR* | *American Historical Review* (1895–) |
| *AHSI* | *Arquivum historicum societatis Iesu* (1931–) |
| AHU | Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon |
| AHU/LR | Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, *livro[s] de registro* registry series |
| AHU/PA | Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, miscellaneous papers by administrative unit<br>BA = Bahia<br>IN = India<br>MA = Maranhão<br>PA = Pará<br>PB = Pernambuco<br>RJ = Rio de Janeiro<br>SP = São Paulo |
| AMB | Arquivo Municipal, Bahia |
| AMRJ | Arquivo Municipal, Rio de Janeiro |
| ANRJ | Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro |
| ANTT | Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon<br>/AJ = Armário Jesuítico collection<br>/CJ = Cartório Jesuítico collection<br>/LM = Livros das monções series |
| APB/ | Arquivo Público do Estado, Bahia, Brazil<br>CGVA = Cartas gerais a vários autoridades<br>OR = Ordens régias |
| *APO*:1 | J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, 6 vols. in 9 (Nova Goa, 1857–76) |
| *APO*:2 | A. B. de Bragança Pereira, ed., *Arquivo português oriental*, 11 vols. (Bastorá, 1936–40) |
| ARSI | Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu |

FG = Fondo Gesuitico
*Bras.* = Brazil province
*Goa* = Goa province
*JapSin* = Japan province and vice-province of China
*Lus.* = province of Portugal

*ASCJ* António Franco, *Ano santo da companhia de Jesus em Portugal* (Porto, 1931)

ATC Arquivo do Tribunal das Contas, Lisbon
/CJ = Cartório Jesuitico collection
/JI = Junta da Inconfidência collection

BA/JA Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuitas na Asia collection

BAPP Biblioteca publica do Para, Belem, Brazil

*BFUP* *Boletim da filmoteca ultramarina portuguêsa*, 15 nos. Lisbon, 1954–71)

BGJ Franz Otto Busch, S.J., "Brasilienfahrer aus der Gesellschaft Jesu," in Erste Reihe, *Aufsatze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, Band 11 Munster, 1974, 215–96

BGUC Biblioteca Geral, Universidade de Coimbra

*BHCJ* László Polgár, S.I., *Bibliographie sur l'histoire de la compagnie de Jésus, 1901–1980*, 3 vols. in 6 Rome, 1981–90

BNL Manuscript Section, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
CP = Coleção Pombalina, Pombaline collection
FG = Fundo Geral, the general collection

BPE Biblioteca Publica de Evora

*CA* Afrânio Peixoto, ed., *Cartas Jesuiticas*, vol. 2, *Cartas avulsas, 1550–1568* Rio de Janeiro, 1931

*CB* Afrânio Peixoto, ed., *Cartas Jesuiticas*, vol. 1, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* Rio de Janeiro, 1931

*CCJ* Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* Berkeley, 1951

*CCLP* José Justino de Andrade e Silva, comp., *Collecção chronológica da legislação portugueza*, 10 vols. Lisbon, 1854–59

CeA Eduardo de Castro e Almeida, comp., *Inventário dos documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramarina de Lisboa*, 8 vols. Rio de Janeiro, 1913–36

*CJPM* Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., "A companhia de Jesús em Portugal e nas missões," *Revista de história* 10 Lisbon, 1921): 161–201

CMP/*P* Congresso do mundo português, *Publicações*, 18 vols. (Lisbon, 1940)

cod. codex (a bound volume of documents)

*CR* Carta régia, a royal provision intended to be a permanent directive

*CSJ(C)* "The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Declarations," in George E. Ganss, S.J., trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1970)



*CSJ(GE)* "The General Examen and Its Declarations," in George E. Ganss, S.J., trans. and ed., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1970), 75–118

*CSPC/EI* Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* series, *East Indies* [title varies] 1–8 (1862–92)

*CTEIP* Júlio Fermino Judice Biker, ed., *Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes que o estado da India portuguesa fez com os reis e senhores com quem teve relações nas partes da Asia e Africa oriental desde o princípio da conquista até ao fim do século xviii*, 14 vols. (Lisbon, 1881–87)

*cx.* *caixa* (box)

*DH* Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, *Documentos históricos*, 110 vols. (1928–55)

*DHA* Instituto do Açúcar e do Alcool, *Documentos para a história do açúcar*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1954–63)

*DHJP* António José Teixeira, ed., *Documentos para a história dos Jesuítas em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1890)

*DHMPPO* António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do oriente*, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1947–58)

*DHP* Joel Serrão, ed., *Dicionário de história de Portugal*, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1971)

*DI* Josef Wicki, S.J., ed., *Documenta indica*, 18 vols. (Rome, 1948–88)

*DISP* Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, *Publicação official de documentos interessantes para a história e costumes de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1895–)

*DM* Hubert Jacobs, S.J., ed., *Documenta malucensia*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1974–84)

*DRI/LM* *Documentos remettidos da India ou livros das missões*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1880–1935)

*DUP* Centro de estudos históricos ultramarinos, *Documentação ultramarina portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1960–67)

DWIC Dutch West India Company

*EFI* William Foster, ed., *The English Factories in India, 1618–1669*, 13 vols. (Oxford, 1906–27)

EIC East India Company

*EJF* Pierre Delattre, S.J., ed., *Les Établissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles*, 5 vols. (Enghein, Belgium, 1949–57)

F/*JM* D. Ferroli, S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51)

HAG Historical Archives of Goa

HAG/LM Historical Archives of Goa, Livros das monções series

*HAHR* *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1918–)

*HCJAE* Antonio Astraín, *Historia de la compañía de Jesus en la asistencia de España*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1902–25)

*HCJAP* Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *História da companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal*, 7 vols. (Porto, 1931–50)

*HCJB* Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1938–50)

*HIP* Fortunato de Almeida, *História da igreja em Portugal*, new ed., ed. Damião Peres, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1968–71)

*HJ* Henry Rule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 2d ed., ed. William Crooke (rpr., London, 1986)

*HP* Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. F. I. Antrobus et al., 40 vols. (London and St. Louis, 1898–1953)

*HS*:1 The Hakluyt Society, *Works*, 1st ser. (London, 1847–98)

*HS*:2 The Hakluyt Society, *Works*, 2d ser. (London, 1899–)

H/SAG John Humbert, S.I., "Some Answers of the Generals of the Society of Jesus to the Province of Goa"
H/SAG1 = *AHSI* 35 (1966): 322–46
H/SAG2 = *AHSI* 36 (1967): 72–103

IAGHPB Instituto archaeologico e historico, Pernambuco
OR = Ordens régias series

IHGB Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro

IHGB/MS Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, J. C. Macedo Soares collection

IOL India Office Library, London

*JBBRAS* *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1841–)

*JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1923–63)

*JSM* Joseph N. Tylenda, S.J., comp., *Jesuit Saints & Martyrs* (Chicago, 1984)

*LAM*3 Alberto Lamego, *A terra Goytacá à luz de documentos inéditos*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1925)

*LGM* "Livro grosso do Maranhão," *ABNRJ* 66 (1948) = *LGM* 1) and 67 (1948) = *LGM* 2)

*LJI* Josef Wicki, S.J., comp., "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer, 1541–1758," in Hans Flasche, ed., *Aufsatz zur portugiesischen kulturgeschichte*, Band 7 (Munster, 1967): 252–450

*LTC/RJ* D. Leite de Macedo, trans. and ed., *Livro de tombo do colégio de Jesus no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968)

*m.* *maço*[s] (a bundle or bundles of archival documents)

*MB* Serafim Leite, S.J., ed., *Monumenta brasiliae*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1956–68)

*MHB* Ignácio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memórias históricas e políticas da provincia da Bahia*, ed. Braz do Amaral, 6 vols. (Salvador, 1919–40)

*MHE* *Memorial Histórico Español*, 49 vols. (Madrid, 1851–1948)

*MHJ* Josef Franz Schütte, S.J., ed., *Monumenta historica japoniae* (Rome, 1975)

*NBBJC* Louis Pfister, S.J., comp., *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'ancienne mission de China, 1552–1773*, 2 vols. in 1 (rpr., San Francisco, 1973)



NBL/GE Newberry Library, Chicago, William B. Greenlee Collection

*NCJ* Serafim Leite, S.J., ed. *Novas cartas jesuíticas (de Nóbrega a Vieira)* (São Paulo, 1940)

OLL The Oliveira Lima Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

OM/*HP* António Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972)

*OSR* Victor Ribeiro, ed., *Obituários da igreja e casa professa de São Roque da Companhia de Jesus desde 1555 até 1704* (Lisbon, 1916)

*PDH* *Portugal: Diccionario historico, biographico, bibliographico, heraldico, chorographico, numismatico, e artistico*, 8 vols. (Lisbon, 1903–13)

PRO/SP Public Record Office, London [Chancery Lane], State Papers, Portugal

*RAGJ* Fernão Guerreiro, comp., *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões*, ed. Artur Viegas, 3 vols. (Coimbra, 1930–42)

*RADF* Arquivo Municipal, Rio de Janeiro, *Archivo do destricto federal; revista de documentos para a história da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1894–98)

*RIHGB* *Revista do instituto historico e geografico brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1839–)

*RJC* Joseph Dehergne, S.J., comp., *Repertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome, 1973)

*RSI* Dionysius Fernández Zapico, S.J., comp., *Regulae Societatis Iesu (1540–1556)* (Rome, 1948)

S/*FX* Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome, 1973–82)

VFL Vatican Microfilm Collection, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

*VMP* Josef Franz Schütte, S.J., *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, 2 vols., trans. John J. Coyne, S.J. (St. Louis, Mo., 1980–85)

VOC United Netherlands Chartered East India Company

VS/*HP* Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 10 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1977–)

# GLOSSARY

*aldeia*: village; in Brazil, a mission settlement under religious supervision
*alfândega*: customs house
*alvará*: royal decree, nominally in force for one year, but often extended indefinitely
*arroba*: a unit of weight; in the Portuguese world, 32 lb. or 14.5 kg.
assistancy: administrative unit within the Society of Jesus based generally upon national considerations and consisting of provinces and vice-provinces. The Portuguese Assistancy included the provinces of Portugal, Brazil, Goa, Cochin, and Japan (Southeast Asia) and the vice-provinces of China and Maranhão.
*auto-de-fé*: act of faith; solemn public ceremony for the punishment of persons sentenced by the Holy Offices of the Inquisition
*cámara*: municipal council
*carta régia*: a royal provision intended to be permanently enforced
*casa*: house; in the Society of Jesus, a house of instruction, often an incipient college
*coadjutor*: literally, a helper; (1) *spiritual* (var. *espiritual*): curate; within the Society of Jesus, a priest who had taken simple vows; (2) *temporal*: lay brother
*colégio máximo*: senior Jesuit college; e.g., New St. Paul's, Goa; Bahia, Brazil
*consultores*: advisors to senior Jesuit administrators
*conto*: money of account, equal to 1 million *réis*
*corregidor*: royal magistrate
*cortes*: parliament
*daimyo*: Japanese baron
*desembargador*: senior royal magistrate; High Court justice
*engenho*: sugar mill; by extension, a sugar plantation
*escrivão da [de] puridade*: confidential royal secretary
Estado da India: the eastern Portuguese empire extending from Mozambique to Macao, its center being Goa, the viceregal capital
*estância*: stock ranch
*fazenda*: landed property devoted to the production of staples such as cereals, cacao, and sugar, as well as livestock
*feitoria*: fortress-factory
*fidalgo*: gentleman; member of lesser nobility
*fidalguia*: the nobility of Portugal
Institute: generally, the Society of Jesus; particularly, its *Constitutions* and later regulations
*lavradores*: farmers; *de cana*: share tenants on a sugar plantation
New Christians: In 1497, King Manuel I (the Fortunate) compelled all Portuguese Jews, an estimated 20 percent of the population, to convert to Christianity. The resulting so-called

New Christians were considered inferior, often suspect, by traditional Catholics, termed Old Christians.

*ouvidor geral*: district magistrate

Overseas Council: royal advisory council established in 1643, the primary link between the crown and its empire

*padroado real*: authority granted by late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century popes to rulers of Portugal empowering them to nominate bishops, to license ecclesiastics and control their movements, to collect tithes, to approve the construction of religious edifices, etc., and charging them with the promotion and protection of the Catholic faith

procurator: within the Society of Jesus, a designation that applied to several types of official serving as business agents of a house, college, or group of colleges and representing the Society's interests at the courts of Portugal and Spain

*provisão*: royal edict

*quinta*: a landed property of a size varying from plot to plantation

*real*, pl. *réis*, rs.: Portuguese money of account, roughly the equivalent of the English farthing

*Relação*: High Court in Porto, Salvador, and Goa

Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy): a charitable fraternity with branches in leading Portuguese cities within the kingdom and abroad; its functions included the care of orphans, of women without husbands, and of prisoners; the lending of capital; and the transmission of funds entrusted to the House by persons residing abroad

*sesmaria*: a grant of land

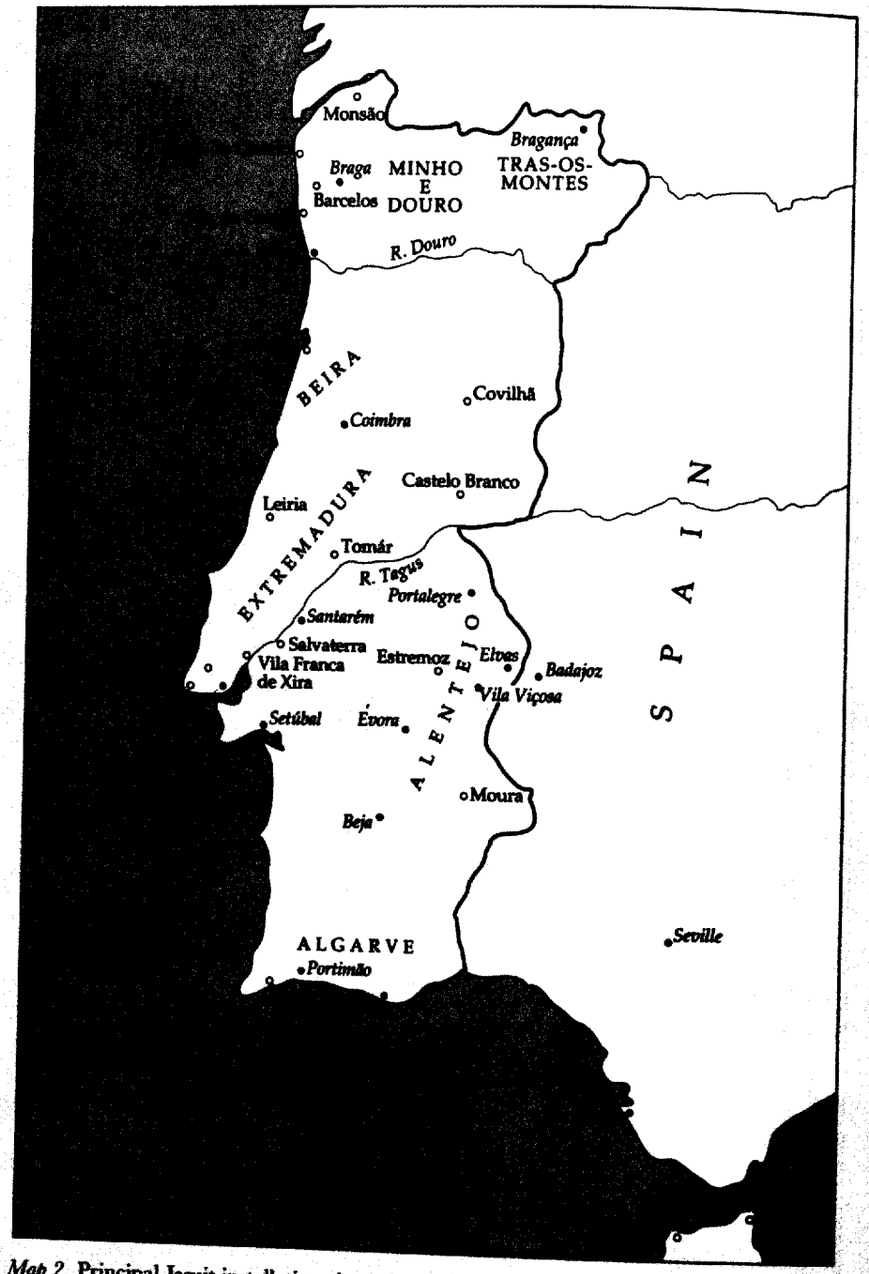
third catalogues: periodic economic reports prepared in the name of a provincial and submitted to the fathers general and procurators-general in Rome

*ultramar*: generally, the lands beyond Europe; specifically, the Portuguese empire

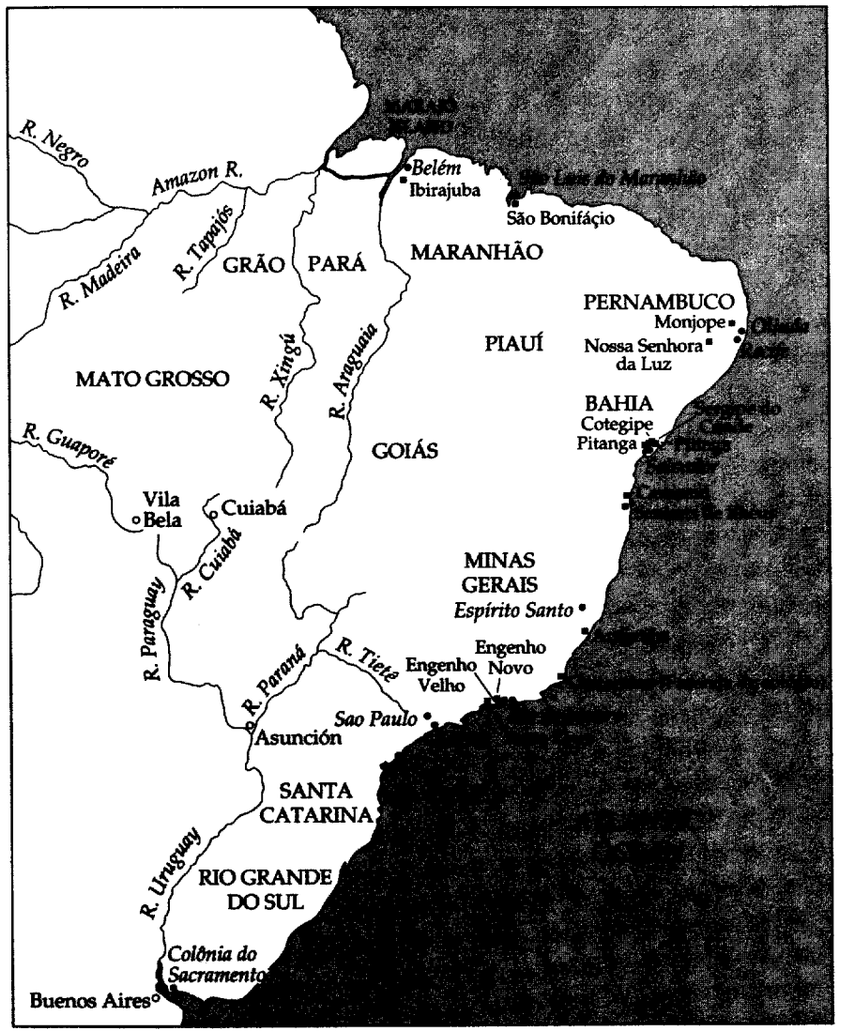
Visitor: Jesuit administrative inspector and corrector, usually of a province or vice-province; the senior representative of the father general

# EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

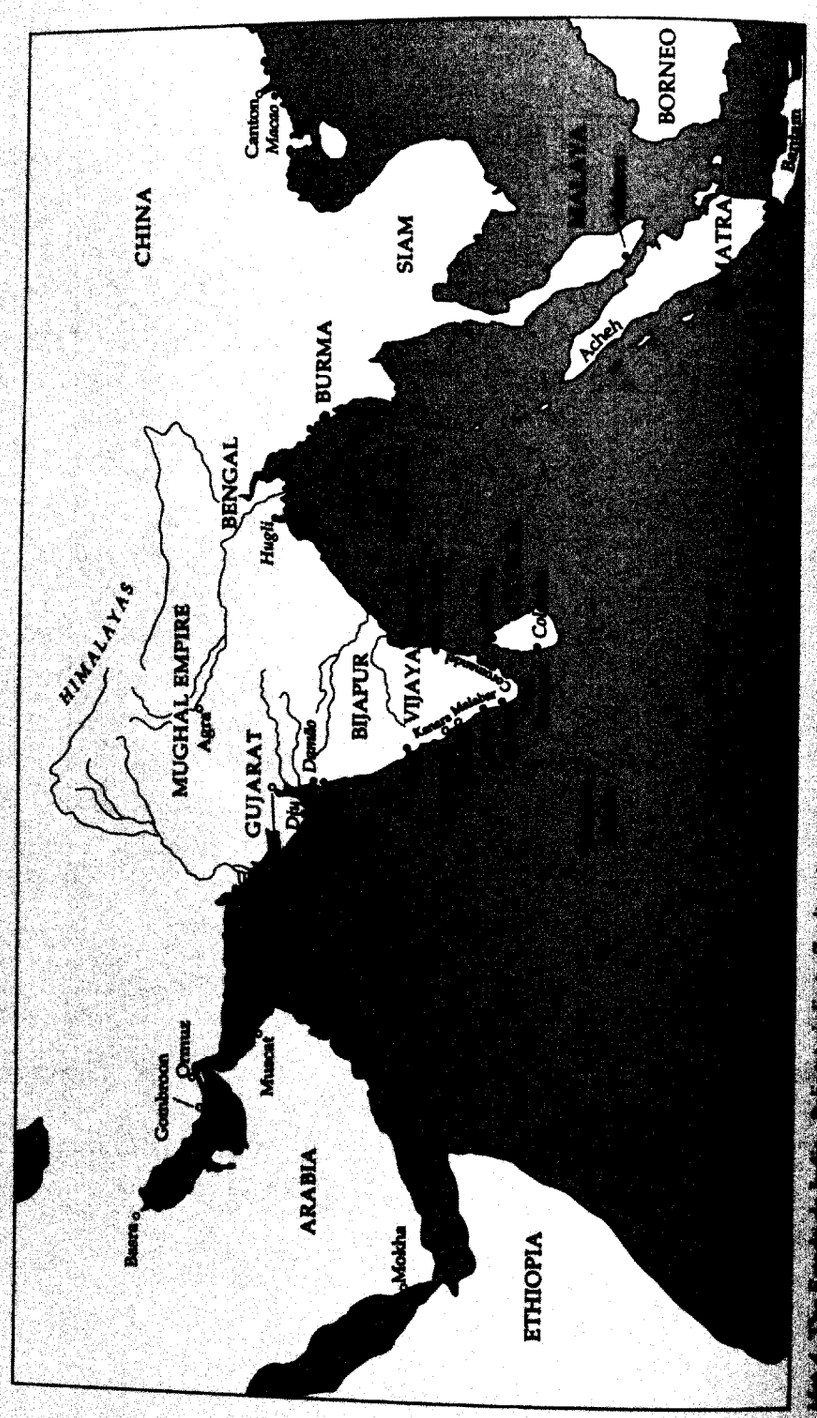
Throughout this study several conventions have been employed. Although Luso-Brazilian orthography seems endlessly in flux, I have tried to follow modern Portuguese preferences with respect to accents and the spelling of names and terms wherever possible. Foreign terms are italicized only when first introduced. From 1580 to 1640 Portugal and its empire was ruled by three Spanish sovereigns—Philip II, III, and IV; I have used those designations, which are more common than the Portuguese alternatives—Philip I, II, and III. All units of weight, dry measures, and length are expressed in metric terms; for example, the standard Portuguese *arroba* (32 lb.) is 14.5 kilograms, and 1 mile is 1.6 kilometers. To present monetary data uniformly, I have converted the several forms of money or money of account employed in the lands east of the Cape of Good Hope into their equivalents in Portugal and its Atlantic empire. For details, consult Appendix A. The Gregorian Calendar was accepted by Portugal and other Catholic lands in 1582 but was resisted by England until 1752, when 3 September suddenly became 14 September. Until then, the Portuguese New Year began on 1 January, but for the English the year changed on 25 March. Before 1752, English consular and diplomatic officials sometimes adhered to what was termed Old Style (OS) dating and sometimes employed New Style (NS). In the notes I have generally followed the dispatch writer's preference but, where necessary, have adjusted the dates to be consistent with Portuguese practice. Unless specifically indicated, persons with identical surnames are not known to have been related.

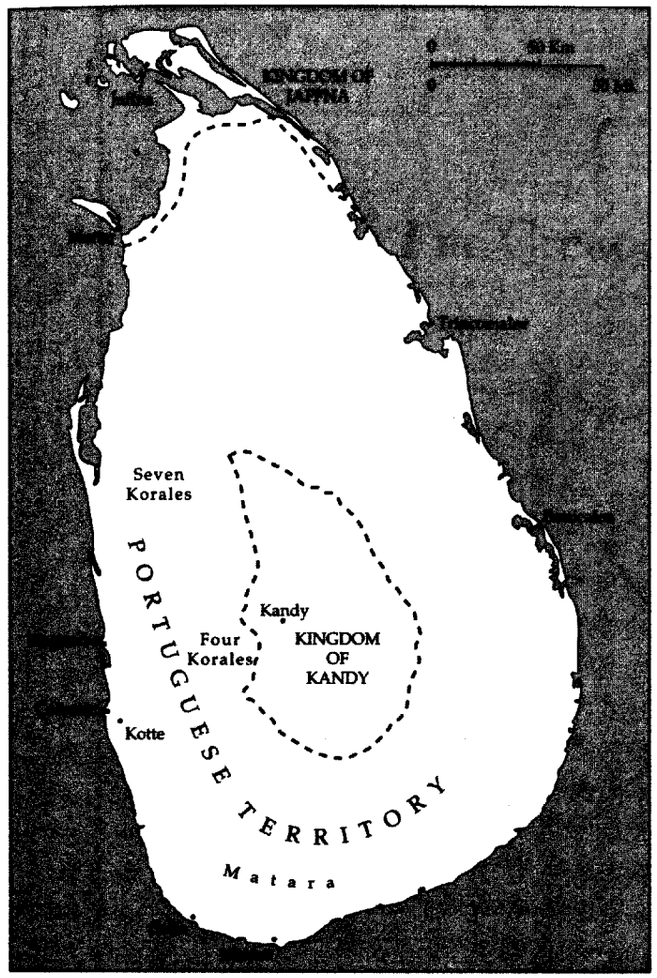



*Map 2.* Principal Jesuit installations in and near Portugal. ***Italic type indicates Jesuit centers.***

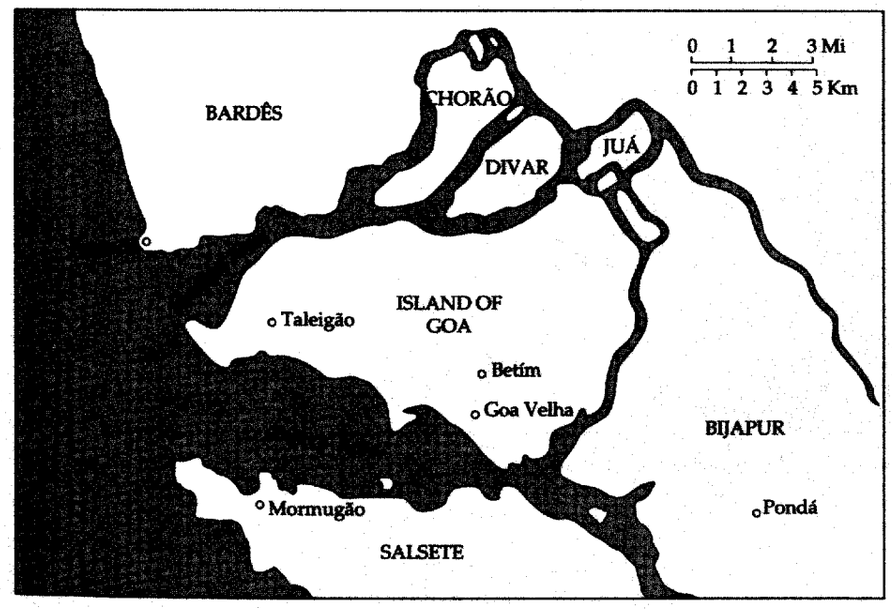



*Map 3.* Jesuit centers and supporting sugar estates in colonial Brazil. *Italic type indicates Jesuit centers.*

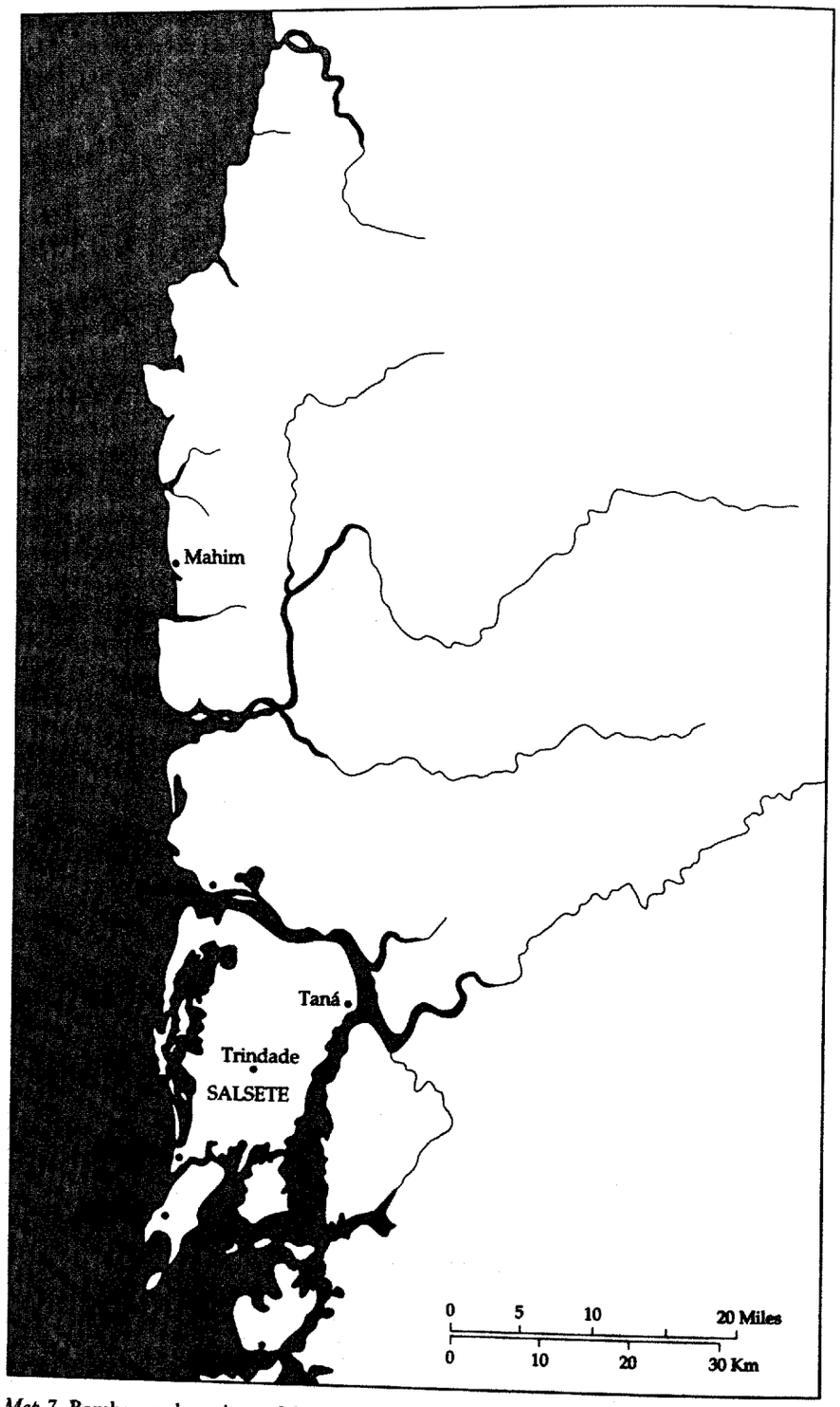



*Map 5.* Ceylon during the early seventeenth century.




*Map 6 (below).* The city and territory of Goa to the 1740s.




*Map 7.* Bombay and portions of the northern province.

PART I

# The Creation

CHAPTER 1

# The Founding of a Controversial New Society

The end of this Society is to devote itself with God's grace not only to the salvation and perfection of the members' own souls, but also with that same grace to labor strenuously in giving aid toward the salvation and perfection of the souls of their fellowmen.

—Loyola, *General Examen*

Whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society . . . should . . . keep . . . in mind [that he] is a member of a Society founded chiefly . . . to strive . . . for the defense and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine.

—Loyola, *Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus*

Europeans in the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed a series of upheavals that would profoundly affect the course of global history. They discovered unsuspected new continents, unexpected civilizations, and undreamed-of wealth. They saw the Iberian Peninsula, home of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, emerge as the locus of political, military, and economic power within the European continent. They watched the rise of a menacing Muslim power in the East—the Turks, who threatened Christian control of the Mediterranean and Arabian seas and contiguous lands. They witnessed the shattering of Christian unity by militant Protestants, who gained control of England and portions of the Germanies and the Low Countries and threatened Catholic hegemony elsewhere. The Catholic Church responded to these challenges vigorously with the enactment of sweeping purifying and centralizing reforms by the Council of Trent (1545–63); improvements in the practices of some of the Church's venerable Orders, notably the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Franciscans; and the authorization of the formation of a new group of Orders that would include the Theatines (1524), the Barnabites (1533), the Somaschi (1568), and one that dared to call itself the Society of Jesus (1540).[1] This chapter examines the creation of the Society of

1. Competent recent surveys of these events include Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980); and D. Lamar Jensen, *Reformation Europe* (Lexington, Mass., 1981). See also L. Cristiani, *L'Église à l'époque du concile de Trent*, in Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, no. 17 (Paris, 1948). Very much worth reading are H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter Reformation* (Cambridge, 1968), and idem, "The New Orders," *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 2, ed. G. R. Elton, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1990), 313–38, as well as T. M. Parker, "The Papacy, Catholic Reforms, and Christian Missions," *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Wernham (Cambridge, 1968), 44–71. See also Jean Delumeau,

Jesus, its common and unique structural and policy features, its perceived objectives, and its early reception.

## *The Origins of the Society*

The formation of the Society of Jesus, the most dynamic, successful, influential, and controversial of the new Orders created during the turbulent sixteenth century, was a remarkable but unplanned achievement by a remarkable man who, for much of his life, had no such aspiration. Iñigo López de Recaldo (b. 1491–d. 1556), who later adopted the name Ignatius de Loyola, was the son of a propertied Navarrese family who felt impelled to undertake a dramatic mid-life career change when a French cannonball ended his vocation as an adventurous, amorous knight during his participation in the defense of Pamplona (1521). While recovering from his grievous leg wounds, Iñigo read two tomes whose messages moved him profoundly and prompted his spiritual conversion. One was a volume of saints' lives, the other a Castilian translation of the *Life of Christ* by a Carthusian monk named Ludolf of Saxony. Iñigo was deeply impressed by what he learned about the experiences of the saints, particularly Saint Dominic and Saint Francis, founders of the two most popular Mendicant Orders of the late Middle Ages, and by Ludolf's vivid account of Christ's sufferings. Accordingly, he resolved to dedicate the remainder of his life to some form of holy service. Before he discovered his specific mission he undertook nearly two decades of intellectual and spiritual preparation as well as a good deal of travel.[2]

As soon as he had recovered from his injury, Iñigo went to a secluded Benedictine monastery near Barcelona. There he performed a dramatic gesture comparable to Saint Francis's act of stripping himself naked in front of his father and bishop: Iñigo gave away his knightly accoutrements and assumed the sackcloth of a humble pilgrim. He spent the next year in exhaustive spiritual exercises in a cave at nearby Manresa before he undertook the obligatory pilgrimage. Taking Saint Francis as his model, he indulged in severe mortifications that included holding long nocturnal vigils, fasting up to three days at a time, flogging himself with barbed chains, and engaging in the so-called Franciscan kiss with a diseased wretch—all acts that he would proscribe for his comrades later on. In addition to such external acts of piety, he absorbed the teachings of *The Imitation of Christ*, a famed handbook addressed to monks that is generally ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, the foremost writer of the "modern devotion," a religious movement particularly active in northern Europe at the time.[3] Inspired by such reading, Iñigo wrote his own spiritual guide, the famed *Spiritual Exercises*, a "shock-tactic spiritual gymnastic" (as Evennett so aptly described it) that the author continued to revise until the mid-1550s. Its purpose was the

*Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire* (London, 1977); and John O'Malley, S.J., ed., *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, 1988).

2. E. M. Rix, trans., *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola* (St. Louis, 1900). Far more has been (and continues to be) written on Loyola than on all other Jesuits. The most recent and complete bibliography is included in *BHCJ*, 1. See also S/*FX*, 1: 136 n. 232, 475–93.

3. Harold C. Gardiner, S.J., ed., *The Imitation of Christ: Thomas à Kempis* (Garden City, N.Y., 1955); R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden, 1968), esp. chap. 13.



transformation of the sinful man into an instrument of devotion, one absolutely attuned to the will of God.[4]

In 1523 Iñigo undertook a brief but unrewarding pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He returned certain that he was destined to aid troubled souls in achieving salvation and oneness with God, but convinced that he could not realize that destiny until he had obtained adequate instruction in Latin, letters, and theology. He enrolled in various Aragonese and Castilian universities but did not achieve the mastery that he sought, partly because he devoted so much of his time and energy to preaching and to the administration of his Spiritual Exercises to each person he persuaded to take them. His unorthodox activities inevitably aroused the suspicion of the Holy Office of Castile, and on three occasions he was incarcerated briefly.

Iñigo decided to follow the trail of other Peninsular students to the University of Paris, the leading international center of higher learning. As D. Lamar Jensen has observed, he entered its doors (1528) just as John Calvin was leaving.[5] The new Protestant dogmas were exciting many Parisians, but Iñigo was repelled by them. He began his studies at the Collège de Montaigue, but subsequently transferred to the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, a notable center of humanistic learning administered by Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, a Portuguese savant.[6] In both institutions Iñigo devoted himself to rigorous intellectual preparation for his still-undefined lifelong mission. Although not personally attracted to a scholarly life, he developed a profound reverence for learning, particularly for the philosophical teachings of Aristotle and the theological doctrines of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

The nearly seven years that Iñigo stayed in Paris were decisive for his career. As a symbolic gesture signifying his rejection of his previous life, in 1532 he dropped his family name, following the custom of many ecclesiastics—Francis of Assisi, for example—and replaced it with Loyola, the ancestral palace where he was born. Ignatius (Iñigo) de Loyola, or Loyola as he would henceforth generally be known, became a successful fund-raiser, obtaining money to sustain his fellow students. He also distinguished himself as the saintly spiritual leader of a coterie, six of whom became his original disciples. They included Diego Laínez, destined to become Loyola's immediate successor as head of the Order that Loyola would found, despite Laínez's part-Jewish lineage; Francis Xavier, who would become the most revered missionary in the history of the Society; and Simão Rodrigues, the stormy Portuguese-born founder of the Order in the kingdom of Portugal. Though each was younger and quicker to learn than Loyola, each also recognized his exceptional gifts of leadership and spiritual insight. All eventually agreed to submit to the rigors of his month-long Spiritual Exercises and to participate in frequent devotional activities with him at the Carthusian monastery of Montmartre, situated just outside of Paris. It was there,

4. Thomas Corbishley, S.J., trans., *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius* (Wheathamstead, Hertfordshire, 1973). Evennett's understanding of the significance of the Exercises is superlative. See his *Spirit*, esp. 50–55, and S/*FX*, 1: 216 n. 186, both of which discuss the problem of the literary origins of the Exercises. Despite its age, Heinrich Boehmer, *The Jesuits: An Historical Study*, trans. Paul Zeller Stradach (Philadelphia, 1928), remains a stimulating analysis.

5. Jensen, *Reformation Europe*, 176.

6. For an excellent sketch of the origins and significance of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, see S/*FX*, 1: 81–85. The Paris years of Iñigo and his companions are briefly discussed in George E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee, 1954), chap. 2, and in S/*FX*, 1: 77–276.

on the Feast of the Assumption (15 August 1534), that Loyola led his six fellow theology students in taking their celebrated vow to surrender most of their possessions to the poor and to proceed to Rome to obtain the pope's consent to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or, if that proved impossible, to "offer my services to the pope and perform whatever he commands me."[7]

Though that was not Iñigo's intention, the Montmartre oath became the first of a series of steps that led to the founding of the Society of Jesus.[8] In 1535 Iñigo and his companions separated. He returned to Navarre to recover his health and to attend to family matters. Meanwhile, his disciples fulfilled their promises and gave away all their possessions before proceeding on foot from Paris to Venice. Iñigo joined his companions in Venice in 1537. It was there that he and all but one of his disciples took the customary series of Holy Orders that led to their ordination on the feast of Saint John the Baptist (24 June 1537). However, because of an impending war in the eastern Mediterranean, Iñigo and his band soon discovered that it was impossible for them to fulfill their intention to sail to the Holy Land. While they waited for the conflict to be resolved, Iñigo successfully recruited additional followers and deployed them and his original disciples in a variety of activities. Some preached in public squares, begging for alms and shelter; others visited hospitals and prisons. Iñigo himself closely examined the practices of the new Theatine Order, then based in Venice, and also began to make important contacts in Rome. He also sent some of his men to several northern Italian universities to preach, to lecture on the scriptures, and to recruit. Other disciples performed spectacularly during a severe famine in the Eternal City (December 1538–February 1539), when they helped to feed thousands.[9]

Through these manifold activities, the sons of Loyola gained invaluable experience as well as increasing visibility, especially among people who counted. No one counted for more than Pope Paul III (1534–49), who regularly invited the Loyolans to his chambers during mealtimes. There they impressed him and his guests—groups of cardinals and scholars—by engaging in what the pope himself termed edifying theological debates. But access to the papal court was soon in jeopardy when a former recruit charged the Loyolans with being Lutheran heretics. Iñigo responded by asking for a prompt investigation by the papal inquisition and gained new prestige for his followers when that tribunal declared the allegations to be without foundation.[10]

By early 1539 the *prête parisiense* (one of the many sobriquets then applied to Iñigo's companions) had established themselves as zealous preachers, tireless workers, and well-informed debaters. Every month they received more invitations for service than their scant number permitted them to accept. It was time to decide whether their informal fraternal association was adequate for them to meet the increasing opportunities to discharge their religious commitment, or whether they ought to form an organization that would endure beyond their own time.

7. The oath is quoted in Boehmer, *The Jesuits*, 57; cf. S/*FX*, 1: 212–15.

8. The most recent account of the beginnings of the Society is John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). For the state of recent Ignatian scholarship, see Juan Plazaola, ed., *Ignacio de Loyola y su tempo: Congreso internacional de historia* (Bilbao, 1992).

9. S/*FX*, 1: 297–452.

10. Ibid., 1: 421–22.



During the Lenten and Easter seasons of 1539, Iñigo and his companions took the second step toward the creation of a new Order when they engaged in lengthy prayer and discussion concerning their future course of action. In June, Iñigo summarized their collective views in a document variously known as the *Summa instituti*, the *Formula instituti*, the Five Chapters, or the primitive constitution. Its preparation marked the third step toward the founding of the Society, for it was, in effect, a prospectus for what Iñigo and his companions decided to call a "Society in the name of Jesus." They pledged themselves "to engage in military service for God under the standard of the cross" and the leadership of a lifetime general. They announced their intention to remain activists rather than become a contemplative Order, to spread the faith "through the ministry of the word, spiritual exercises, and works of charity, and . . . the instruction of children," and to undertake whatever tasks the vicar of Christ (the pope) assigned them. To reinforce that pledge, they solemnly promised that in addition to taking the customary vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, their most qualified members would also take a special vow of strict obedience to the commands of the supreme pontiff.[11]

Iñigo submitted this prospectus to Paul III at the end of June or the beginning of July 1539. Though the pope himself was very receptive, as were some members of his curia, others worried whether a new and unconventional Order would bring credit or embarrassment to the embattled Church. Some also questioned the need for another religious Order in view of the directives of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the Council of Lyon (1274), both of which were opposed to the further proliferation of Orders.

Although the recent approval given the Theatines and the Barnabites had already muted these arguments, the determined, ever-resourceful Iñigo campaigned to win over key doubters. First, he ordered his companions to say 3,000 masses in honor of the Trinity. Second, knowing that he must win over Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, a highly influential figure in the papal bureaucracy and former vicar general of Parma, Iñigo directed one of his companions to write the duke of Parma soliciting his intervention. The duke, in turn, contacted a brother who had recently been named cardinal and others whom he knew at the papal court, asking them to support the Loyolans' petition. The Loyolans also obtained a supportive statement from the city elders of Parma to their ambassador in Rome and prevailed upon D. Constanza Farnese, illegitimate daughter of Paul III and reputedly the most influential woman in Rome, who enlisted the assistance of the archbishop of Siena. And at the behest of John III of Portugal, whose enthusiasm for the Loyolans will be examined in the next chapter, the Portuguese ambassador to Rome, who had engaged Iñigo to be his personal confessor, used whatever influence he could to encourage the pope's approval.

Such wire-pulling was standard practice in governments then as today. Although the Jesuits would be accused of being particularly successful with such tactics, that charge is generally unprovable. In this instance, however, there can be no question that the well-orchestrated campaign was successful. After Iñigo agreed to make certain minor changes in the Five Chapters, Cardinal Guidiccioni recommended that Paul III accept the new Order. The pope did so in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (25 September 1540), the fourth step in the Society's formation. Although that bull cautiously authorized an Order of limited size—a restriction soon removed—it provided the initial papal sanction for one of

11. Ibid., 1: 454–65.

the most dynamic but controversial Orders in the Church, one that would survive countless challenges in many parts of the world during the next 233 years. Nearly twenty years after those dark days at Pamplona, Ignatius de Loyola had finally found his mission in life.[12]

## *The Organization of the Society*

As soon as Loyola's Order had been sanctioned, the founder became the Society's first general, or father general, and as such was the man primarily responsible for drafting of its constitution. He began that task in 1544 and was later assisted by key advisors, including Juan Polanco, a University of Padua–trained lawyer and priest who became the Society's first secretary (1547–73), and Jerónimo Nadal, Loyola's sometime vicar general.[13] In 1551 the first draft was experimentally implemented in places where the Society was then represented. After receiving suggestions for improvements, the founder continued to revise the text until his death in 1556. Two years later the Society's First General Congregation approved the *Constitutions*, which, with minor revisions, remained in force until the Order's suppression in 1773.

Just as the early Dominicans and Franciscans borrowed from each other and from earlier Orders, particularly the Cistercians,[14] so Loyola and his collaborators borrowed certain elements from existing Orders but rejected other features that they deemed incompatible with the founder's vision of a uniquely activist organization. Thus Loyola rejected the autonomist structure of the Benedictines, the early Cluniacs, the Premonstratensians, and the Augustinians, as well as the democratic model of the early Dominican Order.[15] He preferred the centralized structures of his own time as represented by the Dominican Order and increasingly by the papacy itself, as well as by secular governments.[16]

The result was an organization with a pyramidal system of government in which power flowed from the top, or "head," as Loyola termed it, to the members of the body of the Society. The early Dominicans and both the Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans of Loyola's time were governed by elective leaders who served for limited terms. In contrast, Loyola and his collaborators agreed that the Society would be best ruled by a

12. Ibid., 1: 466–74, 540–51; Boehmer, *The Jesuits*, 64–66; James Broderick, S.J., *The Origins of the Jesuits* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960). Each of the authors cited in the Preface considers the background to the Society's establishment.

13. *CSJ(C)*, 47–59; Richard H. Dowling, S.J., "Juan de Polanco, S.J.," *Woodstock Letters* 69, 1 (1940): 1–20; Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "Nadal y Polanco sobre la formula del Instituto de la Compania de Jesús," *AHSI* 47 (1978): 225–39.

14. Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, 1959), 225ff. and 293ff.; R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Middlesex, 1970), 283–84.

15. Cf. William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 2 vols. (Staten Is., 1966), 1: 17off.; E. K. Francis, "Toward a Typology of Religious Orders," *American Journal of Sociology* 4, 5 (Mar. 1950): 437–49. I am indebted to my colleague Joan Ullman for calling this dated but still stimulating article to my attention. It is sometimes said that the Cluniacs were among Loyola's models, but Giles Constable argues strongly against "the myth of the administrative centralization" of that Order during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: "Cluniac Administration and Administrators in the Twelfth Century," in *Cluniac Studies* (London, 1980), 17–29.

16. Alexander Hamilton Thompson, "The Monastic Orders," in *The Cambridge Medieval History* (rpr., Cambridge, 1957), 5: 658–96, provides an excellent analysis of the structure of the major Orders. See also Jensen, *Reformation Europe*, 177.



general appointed for life. Such a director, called by the Jesuits a superior general or father general or simply a "general," in contrast to a master general (the head of the Dominicans and Spiritual Franciscans) or a minister general (the superior of the early Franciscans and the later Conventuals), possessed in theory and sometimes in practice exceptionally broad powers with respect to both the shaping of policy and administrative appointments. That authority could not be effectively checked by the general congregation, the collegiate body that was the Jesuit counterpart of the general chapter of the Mendicants. The general congregation convened only upon the call of the father general, his vicar, or some other designated agent. Participants in such assemblies included provincials (that is, territorial managers) and two representatives selected by each provincial congregation or named by the provincial. Although Loyola suggested that the general congregations might gather at regular three- to six-year intervals, their primary functions were to ratify measures decreed by the father general and, upon his death, to elect a successor. Unlike the Mendicant general chapters of the thirteenth century, Jesuit general congregations were not empowered to summon their general to account for his actions in behalf of the Society.[17]

The *Constitutions* authorized the general to govern the Society with the aid of a *socio* or companion, a secretary, a procurator-general, and several assistants. The procurator-general was the Society's chief legal officer and represented its interests in the papal curia; he also oversaw the accounting procedures of the Society's components. Originally there were four assistants, but their number later increased to five and then to six. Each served as liaison between the generalate and one of the major linguistic divisions within the Society—the Polish, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. The general congregation named or ratified the appointment of the general's assistants. None of them exercised any independent authority, for all decisions were undertaken only in the name of the father general himself.[18]

Since the curia was firmly situated in the Eternal City by Loyola's time, Rome also became site of the Society's permanent headquarters. The eighteen men who headed the Order between 1540 and 1773 rarely ventured outside of Italy, unlike the peripatetic early masters-general of the Dominicans.[19] As a consequence, they were dependent upon senior lieutenants, who administered large and small units of the Society beyond the limits of Rome. In theory, the father general appointed each of those administrators, although in practice he depended upon the recommendations of those who knew them best, their associates and peers. The duties and duration of service of such officials—territorial officers called provincials or vice-provincials, collegial superiors termed rectors, special investigators called Visitors, and other supervisors—will be explored in later chapters, especially Chapters 10 and 11.

Various writers have called attention to the supposed resemblance of the new Order to a military organization, suggesting that Loyola's soldiering background influenced his molding of the Society.[20] For example, C. R. Boxer has suggested that the Jesuits may be

17. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 8, chaps. 2–3; cf. pt. 9, chap. 1, par. 322.

18. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 9, chaps. 5 and 6.

19. Hinnebusch, *History*, 1: 202ff. and 124.

20. Cf. Evennett, *Spirit*, 82, and René Fülöp-Miller, *The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus*, trans. F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait (1930; rpr. New York, 1963), 24–27.

likened to the United States Marines, implying that they were the spiritual shock troops of their time. However tempting such analogies may be, they are at best only partial fits. It is true that the Society possessed a strong chain-of-command structure extending from the most humble lay brothers through their intermediate superiors to the provincials and beyond to the assistants and the general, who for many early Jesuits became a father figure as well as Christ's lieutenant and an apparently nearly omnipotent commander of his forces. And it is true that there was provision in the *Constitutions* for harsh discipline. Though punishment did sometimes include penances such as the wearing of hair shirts, exile, and confinement in ecclesiastical jails, it never extended to corporal punishment comparable to the lashings administered to delinquent sailors, for example. Although the so-called Five Chapters twice refer to "military service for God" and pledge that members of the Society will labor "under the command of the Vicar of Christ," that is, the pope,[21] it should be remembered that the application of military symbolism to ecclesiastical bodies was commonplace long before the coming of the Jesuits. Indeed, it can be traced back to the clarion calls of the primitive church (2 Cor. 10:4–6) and was frequently employed during the Middle Ages. Thus, Federico Visconti, archbishop of Pisa, once described a stirring encounter between sin and virtue as a "battle of wits and words":

> O what a great battle takes place between the friar confessor and the penitent sinner. The sinner says . . . "I will do everything that you wish, but I can in no way whatever give up such a one as my lover, or usury, or hatred, or the grudge I have against so-and-so." Whence it is fitting that, as one knight fights another powerful, rebellious knight, the friar struggle and do battle with spears of reason and persuasion against the sinner, that he may conquer him spiritually.[22]

Somewhat earlier, King Edgar stated in the charter of New Minster, Winchester, that "the abbot is armed with spiritual weapons and supported by a troop of monks anointed with the dew of heavenly graces. They fight together in the strength of Christ with the sword of the spirit against the aery wiles of the devils. They defend the king and clergy . . . from the onslaughts of their invisible enemies." And Ordericus Vitalis wrote in his *Ecclesiastical History*: "Look carefully at the things which are provided for you by trained monks . . .; strenuous is the warfare which these castellans of Christ wage against the Devil; innumerable are the benefits of their struggle."[23] It is not surprising, therefore, that Loyola employed military terminology, especially at a time when much of Europe was torn by both theological and armed battles and when the Iberian powers were undertaking the conquest of the world beyond Europe.[24]

21. S/*FX*, 1: 462–63.
22. As quoted in Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978), 199.
23. Southern, *Western Society*, 224–25.
24. Cf. *CSJ(C)*, 348–49.



## *Unique and Controversial Features of the Society*

The Society's organizational structure differed somewhat from that of many other religious Orders. But its unique features, rather than its organization, quickly became sources of suspicion, complaint, and controversy. One such feature was the specific standards that Loyola established for admission to the Society. Those standards were detailed in the *Constitutions* and in the General Examen, a manual that Loyola wrote (1546) and that was to be presented to each postulant.[25] Among those barred from admission were heretics, schismatics, homicides, substantial debtors, "legitimate" slaves, married persons, and immoral persons.[26] Nor could those who had already taken sacred vows to enter another Order gain entry into the Society, a stipulation that was intended to avoid the unseemly charge of raiding, which had characterized Franciscan–Dominican rivalries during earlier centuries.[27] Other impediments that precluded admission were physical or mental defects, the former since they would "not help toward the edification of the neighbors with whom . . . it is necessary to deal."[28]

The founder emphasized the importance of character and personality in the evaluation of a prospect's suitability for the Society. Thus, those given to uncontrolled passions, inconstancy, lethargy, excessive ambition, and indiscretions were not wanted. On the positive side, recruiters were urged to seek men who possessed good health and memories, "a pleasing manner of speech so necessary for communications with one's fellow men," and, in general, "a good appearance by which those with whom they deal are more usually edified."[29] Respectability was also vital, especially during the Society's formative period, when its leaders were sensitive to the shaping of its public image (see especially Chapter 11). Candidates were obliged to demonstrate their legitimacy and the orthodoxy of their forebears and to disclose the occupations and civil status of their siblings. Finally, in accordance with the requirements of other Orders, the recruit was to be asked whether he was "determined to abandon the world and to follow the counsels of Christ our Lord," and to obey all directives by His agents.[30]

As will be seen later in this chapter and elsewhere, when the generals and their agents considered particular circumstances compelling, certain of these restrictions could be—and were—set aside. Nevertheless, no other Order then functioning imposed such severe admission requirements. Nor did any other religious body provide such rigorous training for its members. That long process began with the novitiate, which lasted two years, twice as long as in other Orders. Whereas other religious bodies generally isolated novices from

25. For the text, see *CSJ(GE)*.
26. The Society's policy with respect to the admission of married persons was very different from that of the early Franciscans. See Paul Schwartz, O.F.M., and Paul Lachance, O.F.M., trans., "The First Rule of Saint Francis," in David Flood, O.F.M., and Thaddée Matura, O.F.M., *The Birth of a Movement: A Study of the First Rule of St. Francis* (Chicago, 1975), 63–65.
27. As Hinnebusch conceded, "All the Orders opened their arms to religious who had wearied of their first love," especially after the Black Death (1348–49). *History*, 1: 322–25.
28. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 1, chap. 3.
29. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 1, chap. 2.
30. *CSJ(GE)*, chap. 3.

professed members during the novitiate, Loyola prescribed a brief period of isolation and reflection for the novices, followed by a series of "experiences" or tests. In common with novices in many other Orders, particularly those that adhered to the Rule of St. Benedict, Jesuit novices learned the virtues of silence and of speaking only when specifically addressed. Their first "experience" was a month devoted to mental toughening, accomplished through close study of the Spiritual Exercises and meditation on their meanings, and accompanied by close monitoring. There followed a month of working in hospitals and another in which the novice made a pilgrimage "without money and even begging from door to door," after which came the performance of "various low and humble offices" in the novitiate, and then a period in which the subject was required to explain Christian doctrine "in public to boys and other simple persons, or . . . [teach] it to individuals." Then came the first "experience" of preaching or hearing confessions. During these initial two years, the candidate's will and general character were constantly subjected to various trials to determine his suitability for the Jesuits' way of life.[31] Candidates who demonstrated acceptable pliability, compliance, and talent were then permitted to take simple vows that bound them to the Society (but not vice versa) and to move on to the scholasticate, a much longer period of education in the humanities, philosophy, and theology, as well as in Latin, some Hebrew, and some Greek, a regimen that, as Evennett has written, was in Loyola's time a "radical innovation."[32]

When candidates entered the Society, or during their scholasticate, their superiors evaluated their talents, determined which of the several grades within the Society they seemed to fit best, and assigned them accordingly.[33] Because of the pledge that they took when they joined, the candidates recognized that they had no right of appeal, although some resentfully protested that they had been misled (see Chapter 20). Those who completed their training might be assigned to one of four grades. The first was that of the temporal coadjutors, who were lay brothers, the equivalent of the *conversi* of the Cistercians, though far less numerous in the Society.[34] Still, their number probably came to exceed Loyola's original expectation, and the variety of positions they occupied over time was far greater than he had contemplated.[35] The temporal coadjutors played a far more vital role in the activities of the Society than most Jesuit historians recognize (see Chapter 20).

If the temporal coadjutors were the *laboratori* of the trinity of medieval ranks, the remaining three grades were the equivalent of the *oratori*, for their members were all ordained priests. The lowest level was occupied by the spiritual coadjutors. They were considered sufficiently qualified to hear confessions, give exhortations, and teach Christian doctrine, but they were judged insufficiently learned in theology or in Latin to be admitted to the two

31. Ibid., esp. chap. 4.

32. Evennett, "New Orders," 333.

33. *CSJ(C)*, Index 1, 375.

34. The conversi were "second-class monks . . . illiterate and therefore unable to take a full part in the life of the [Cistercian] community. . . . Yet they were monks in the sense that they followed a simplified monastic regime." Southern, *Western Society*, 257–58. Though the number of conversi often exceeded that of the first class of monks by a ratio of 3:1 or 4:1, the number of Jesuit lay brothers never exceeded the number of priests. One must remember, however, that in Brazil and in other parts of the New World the Jesuits also became the owners of massive numbers of slaves of African origin. See Chapter 20.

35. Loyola defined their roles as cooks, stewards, doorkeepers, infirmarians, launderers, gardeners, alms-gatherers, and purchasers. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 1, chap. 2, pars. 148 49. Many were, but some attained far less humble positions within the Order.



higher classes, that is, the professed. Loyola expected that in time the percentage of such spiritual assistants would diminish. In fact, their number grew substantially throughout the balance of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, at least in part because of the persistent influence of the founder's confidant, Jerónimo Nadal, who impressed upon Ignatius's successors the need to maintain exceptionally high standards of learning for those allowed to join the ranks of the professed.[36]

The two classes of the professed included those who were judged to have sufficient learning to be qualified to take three solemn vows and those of "conspicuous" learning (meaning those who were especially proficient in Latin) who could take the famous fourth vow of special obedience to the pope.[37] Among the Jesuits, that pledge was first made in the Montmartre oath quoted above and was incorporated in each of the three key documents that Loyola submitted to the papacy to win approval for his organization in 1540.[38] The Five Chapters, for example, stipulated that the oath takers would obey any order from the pontiff and venture wherever he chose to send them "whether . . . among the Turks or any other infidels, even those who live in the region called the Indies, or among any heretics whatever, or schismatics, or any of the faithful." One can, of course, find similar commitments in the vows of those who joined the chivalric orders, such as those of Spain. The inclusion of that vow became one of the obstacles that had to be surmounted when the Society's petition was being considered in 1540. Some, including the influential Cardinal Ghinucci, contended that since all Christians were obliged to follow the pontiff's directives the oath was superfluous.[39] That contention has been repeated many times since. Though it appears to have been a tactic intended to associate the Society with the papacy more closely than rival Orders,[40] it may ultimately have done the Society more harm than good. Except on a few occasions during the sixteenth century, popes rarely sent Jesuits on hazardous errands. Later on there would be occasions when leaders of the Society strongly opposed papal measures—such as the creation of the Propaganda Fide (1622), for example, a deliberate attempt by the papacy to play a more direct role in the activities of overseas missions—but could not openly express their differences. Besides the Society's appropriation of the sacred name of Jesus,[41] perhaps no feature of the Society became such a red flag for its opponents as the papal oath, particularly among those who feared or resented the perceived expansion of papal political authority.

The fact that Jesuits did not wear a distinctive garb but rather adopted the form of clothing that their leaders believed to be most appropriate in particular circumstances also aroused disapproval.[42] Another persistent point of criticism was Loyola's insistence that Jesuits not sing masses and offices in choir, as members of other religious bodies did.

36. Ladislao Lukács, "De graduum diversitate inter sacerdotes in Societate Iesu," *AHSI* 37 (1968): 237–316.

37. *CSJ(GE)*, chap. 1; *CSJ(C)*, 349–56.

38. "The Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus," in *CSJ(C)*, 63–74, at 68; *CSJ(GE)*, 79–80 and n. 18; *CSJ(C)*, 239, 268.

39. S/*FX*, 1: 470.

40. Cf. A. D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World* (London, 1982), 18.

41. *CSJ(C)*, 348–49.

42. The General Examen, for example, leaves to the superior of the novitiate whether novices may continue to wear their street clothes or should put on distinctive garments. *CSJ(GE)*, 84–85.

That stipulation appears explicitly in chapter 3 of part 6 of the *Constitutions*: "Because the occupations which are undertaken for the aid of souls are of great importance ... and because our residence in one place or another is so highly uncertain, our members will not regularly hold choir for the canonical hours or sing Masses and offices." Loyola instituted that provision to free his members for endeavors more directly related to their apostolic goals, but it seemed heretical to conservative members of the Church. Near the end of his life, Loyola did agree to permit Vespers to be sung during Holy Week, but that was not enough to satisfy Pope Paul IV, who, in 1556, insisted that choir be mandatory. The pope died soon after, and Juan Polanco successfully prevailed upon his successor to rescind that order.[43]

Loyola also banned the keeping of musical instruments in Jesuit houses.[44] Yet, as T. Frank Kennedy and others have shown, the leaders of the Society soon discovered that music had an important place in its apostolic work. Liturgical and paraliturgical music was later performed within Jesuit churches and colleges and was also an important component of the vast corpus of Jesuit drama.[45]

## *Defining the Society's Mission*

Further differences between the Society and its critics arose as the new Order's leaders sought to determine its specific mission. As Nicholas P. Cushner once remarked, at the time of its official sanction, the Society lacked a clear sense of purpose.[46] One of its objectives was to continue with the same lively preaching in which the Loyolans had engaged since their arrival in Venice in 1537. The Loyolans' aim was not only to reinforce the faith among wayward Catholics but also to win back disobedient Protestants and, in lands beyond the confines of Europe, to persuade devotees of non-Christian faiths to convert to what they, along with all Catholics, were convinced was the true faith. Through preaching, public disputations, counseling, and other techniques, the Jesuits tried to persuade Christians to purge themselves of their sins, to reform their lives in a manner acceptable to the Jesuits' understanding of God's will, and to demonstrate to pagans the superior wisdom and virtues of Christianity. But it was not the Jesuits' style to emulate Saint Francis, who appeared before crowds in filthy clothing, shouting fervent but disorganized threats at his listeners.[47] The Loyolans were as meticulous about their grooming as they were about their carefully prepared, eloquently delivered discourses. Their evangelical efforts will be considered in later chapters (see especially Chapters 3, 6, 9, 19, and 23).

43. Dowling, "Polanco," 13.

44. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 3, chap. 1, par. 268.

45. T. Frank Kennedy, "Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years," Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Florence, *Studi musicali* 17, 1 (1988): 71–95. I am most grateful to the noted Oxford book and manuscript dealer Albi Rosenthal for sharing the text of this illuminating article with me. The most complete introduction to the vast literature concerning Jesuit drama is Nigel Griffin, comp., *Jesuit School Drama*, supplement 1 (London, 1986).

46. Nicholas P. Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany, 1980), 5.

47. Cf. Little, *Religious Poverty*, 162–63.



Participation in the confessional was a responsibility that the Jesuits had already begun to assume before September 1540, but the more notoriety the new fathers attained for their religious zeal and knowledge, the more pressure they faced to serve as confessors, especially to the high and mighty. According to Heinrich Boehmer, though it had long been customary for royal courts to include a chaplain and a preacher, the assignment of a father confessor for sovereigns and princelings was a practice that began with the Loyolans.[48] Initially the fathers general had misgivings about posting their members in royal palaces, where the confessors would inevitably be exposed to worldly temptations. But the sovereigns were insistent, and the Jesuits, as they often did when commanded by rulers, complied.

Although as father general, Claudio Aquaviva (1581–1615), the neglected Bonaventure of the Order,[49] issued general instructions (1602) cautioning confessors against mixing in court politics or becoming pawns of princes, he enjoined them to impress upon their noble penitents policies right in the eyes of God and beneficial to the Society. In practice, confessors were unable to avoid becoming drawn into the general concerns of their clients. Thus, for example, one duke who had benefited from the counsels of his Jesuit confessor for 26 years stated that he consulted him not only as his spiritual director but also as his financial advisor on the management of his estates, the payment of his workers, "and numerous other matters."[50]

By the early seventeenth century, Jesuits had become the principal confessors of the Catholic royalty of Europe and of many noble houses as well. Whether, as Boehmer has stated, the confessional "occupied the very center of the Order's pastoral activities" is debatable. Certainly it does not follow, as the German scholar contended, that the confessors' objective was to influence their charges "so that they would submit themselves to the priest's ministrations." It would be more judicious to say that they aimed to see that their spiritual dependents' conduct conformed as closely as possible to the requirements of God.[51]

If Jesuits became highly visible as court figures, both in Europe and abroad (particularly in Mughal India, Japan, and China), they also undertook, less conspicuously, other services not contemplated by Loyola nor explicitly authorized in the Society's *Constitutions*. One thinks, for example, of their performances in delicate diplomatic missions (see especially Chapters 4–8 and 23), as custodians and manufacturers of armaments (discussed in Chapter 6), and even as minters of coins (see Chapter 13). But they were particularly well known

48. Boehmer, *The Jesuits*, 120–21.

49. Although Aquaviva had more to do with the shaping of the Society than any father general after Loyola, no book-length study of the fifth general exists. See, however, Joseph de Guibert, "Le Généralat de Claude Aquaviva (1581–1615): Sa Place dans l'histoire de la spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus," *AHSI* 10 (Jan.–June 1941): 59–93; B. Schneider, "Der Konflict zwischen Claudius Aquaviva und Paul Hoffaens," *AHSI* 26 (1957): 3–55; 27 (1958): 279–306; and Schneider's sketch in *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (1967), 1: 89–90. For a remarkably censorious but unconvincing assessment, see J. C. H. Aveling, *The Jesuits* (rpr., New York, 1987), 189–98. It should be noted that throughout this study the general's name will be written as indicated here, although it has become fashionable among Jesuit scholars in the House of Writers in Rome to revert to the antique spelling, Acquaviva.

50. Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., ed., *Kino Writes to the Duchess: Letters of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., to the Duchess of Aveiro* (St. Louis, 1965), 60–61.

51. Cf. Boehmer, *The Jesuits*, 133. The activities of the confessors of the Portuguese royal family are considered in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

for educating laymen, also an activity that Loyola had not contemplated and, indeed, one he did not initially welcome.

As Fr. Pedro Leturia pointed out long ago, the founding fathers did not expect to have to provide humanistic and scientific training for their recruits.[52] Because they themselves possessed university educations before the Order came into being, they expected that their recruits would already be university-trained. Between 1540 and 1547, however, Loyola authorized the establishment of dormitory facilities, called colleges, exclusively for candidates for the Order, in major university centers like Paris, Louvain, Padua, Valencia, and Coimbra. Their residents merely lived there while attending university classes. But in 1545 the duke of Gandía, Francisco Borgia, later to become the Society's third general, established a college in Gandía that was at first intended exclusively for the training of Jesuit scholastics. After its rector invited members of the community to attend the students' philosophical disputations, some of the leading families begged that their children be permitted to attend classes at the new school. In 1546 Ignatius approved their request, and two years later Gandía became a model of a *collegium* that served both Jesuit scholastics and externs.

An even more radical move was made in 1548, when Ignatius answered the plea of an old friend, the viceroy of Sicily, who yearned to enhance the spiritual and cultural life of the island by establishing a college in the municipality of Messina. Ignatius sent ten men, five priests and five scholastics, to establish what became the first Jesuit school intended primarily for secular students. Three years later the general himself presided over the opening of the famed Roman College, which in 1584 became the Gregorian University (after its early patron, Pope Gregory XIII [1572–85]), and which remains an illustrious institution to this day.

By 1551, the year the Roman College was opened, Loyola's initial coolness toward a major Jesuit role in higher education had clearly been overcome. His shift in attitude may have been influenced by the actions of the Council of Trent, which urged Church leaders to promote education as a means of encouraging and solidifying knowledge of the faith. It may also have been affected by his recognition that the increasing urbanization of Europe necessitated more advanced-level schools, particularly for informed, zealous, capable Christian leaders.[53] Perhaps, too, he recognized that Jesuit colleges could become excellent recruiting centers, just as Dominican and Franciscan colleges had long been, and that proved to be the case. At any rate, in December 1551 Loyola issued a circular that announced the Society's commitment to what has been called "the apostolate of the classroom." The founder stressed that the establishment of new colleges, modeled on the Roman College, was consistent with the Society's goals and ought to be extended throughout Europe.

The response to that call was swift and impressive. By 1556, the year of Loyola's death, there were 46 Jesuit colleges established and authorized in Europe, Brazil, and

52. The following paragraphs rely primarily upon Fr. Leturia's "Why the Society of Jesus Became a Teaching Order," *Jesuit Educational Quarterly* 4, 1 (June 1941): 31–54; George E. Ganss, S.J., "The Origin of Jesuit Colleges for Externs and the Controversies About Their Poverty, 1539–1608," *Woodstock Letters* 91 (1962): 123–66; and William V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1972), 20–28.

53. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 4, 210–11.



TABLE 1.1

*Growth of the Society of Jesus, 1556–1749*

| *Year* | *Members (N)* | *Provinces and vice-provinces* | *Colleges* | *Seminaries* | *Novitiates* | *Professed houses* | *Missions and residences* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1556 | 1,500 | | 46 | — | — | — | — |
| 1579 | 5,164 | 21 | 144 | — | — | 10 | — |
| 1600 | 8,519 | 26[a] | 245 | — | — | 16 | — |
| 1608 | 10,641 | 31[b] | 293 | — | 33 | 21 | 96 |
| 1616 | 13,112 | 32 | 372 | — | 41 | 24 | 123 |
| 1626 | 15,544 | 38[b] | 444 | 56 | 44 | 26 | 228 |
| 1679 | 17,655 | 35 | 578 | 88 | 48 | 28 | 266 |
| 1710 | 19,998 | 38[a] | 712 | 157 | 59 | 24 | 540 |
| 1717 | 19,679 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1749 | 22,589 | 39[b] | 699 | 176 | 61 | 24 | 608 |

SOURCES: 1556: George E. Ganss, S.J., *St. Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee, 1954), 24. 1579, 1600, and 1608: idem, "The Origin of Jesuit Colleges for Externs and the Controversies About Their Poverty, 1539–1608," *Woodstock Letters* 91 (1962): 127. 1616–1749: Edmond Lamalle, S.J., "Les Catalogues des provinces et des domiciles de la compagnie de Jesus," *AHSI* 13 (Jan.–Dec. 1944): 77–101; and Alfred Harny, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des domiciles de la compagnie de Jesus dans le monde entier de 1540 à 1773* (Paris, 1892).

[a] Number includes one vice-province.

[b] Number includes two vice-provinces.

India. Their number had grown to 245 by 1600 and continued to increase thereafter (Table 1.1).[54]

The proliferation of such colleges had far-reaching implications and raised serious issues for the Society's leaders. One concerned how far its commitment ought to extend. Though Ignatius was sensitive to the need for improvements in primary education too, he insisted that the limited resources of the Order made it necessary for it to concentrate on secondary and higher education, a policy that his successors continued in Europe, although, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, not always overseas.[55] A second concern pertained to the courses that Jesuit institutions should offer. Just as he had studied the rules and constitutions of other Orders as he was drafting ordinances for his organization, so Ignatius examined the constitutions of various universities, including those of Valencia, Salamanca, Alcalá, Coimbra, Paris, Louvain, Cologne, Bologna, and Padua, selecting the elements from each that best suited his views of what needed to be taught.[56] He rejected an elective system of courses in favor of a rigid sequence of what amounted to building blocks, so that students would acquire a solid foundation in Latin before attending lectures in the arts (logic, physics, metaphysics, mathematics, moral philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, and history). After studying the arts, students would move on to scholastic theology and learn some Hebrew and Greek, too. The result was a melding of scholastic and humanist learning with emphasis upon Quintilian rhetoric, Ciceronian grammar, Aristotelian science, and Thomistic theology.[57]

54. The standard work on the beginnings of Jesuit colleges remains Allan P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee, 1938).

55. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*, 44.

56. Ibid., 38.

57. Ibid., 49.

Yet until Aquaviva's generalate, Jesuit education was far from standardized. In 1581 the Fourth General Congregation expressed concern about that issue and named a committee of twelve to prepare a standardized system. The father general played a major role in the preparation of the famous *Ratio studiorum*, the detailed regulations that would govern Jesuit schools from the late sixteenth century on. The first draft of the text was completed in 1586 and was subjected to a series of revisions until 1599.

The Aquaviva ordinances prescribed the texts to be used, how they were to be interpreted, acceptable student–professor relationships, the close surveillance of both teachers and students, and much else. They required all students, both scholastics and externs, to attend daily mass and monthly confession. Students were warned not to "come to class with arms, daggers, knives, or others of such nature as are forbidden according to the custom of the place or the time." They were enjoined to refrain from using abusive language or defacing "benches, the chairs, the stools, the walls, the doors, the windows, or any other part by drawing, writing with knives or in any other way," and cautioned to avoid "evil books and useless reading."[58]

While the *Ratio studiorum* was being prepared, the Society continued to debate the legitimacy of participation in the education of externs. Senior members of the Order were concerned that their very success in creating schools for seculars might be a violation of the *Constitutions* as well as a violation of the Society's commitment to poverty. The *Constitutions* had recognized two types of domicile for Jesuits: (1) the professed house, where Jesuits who had completed their training would apply themselves in preaching and administering the sacraments, and (2) the residence college of scholastics who were preparing themselves for life in the professed house. Loyola always insisted that the professed house must survive on voluntary contributions (alms) and must not have assigned sources of income; he ruled, however, that because of the students' involvement in their studies, neither they nor their superiors had sufficient time to beg for their sustenance. Consequently, the colleges were authorized to accept endowments and fixed incomes.[59]

Loyola and his colleagues assumed that because of the holy commitment of the occupants of the professed houses, there would be no difficulty finding sufficient donors to help establish those houses. They learned otherwise. Though many wealthy persons, both in Europe and overseas, came forward with offers of funds to build Jesuit churches and colleges, few wanted to contribute to professed houses. As a consequence, the number of colleges grew far more impressively than did the number of professed houses (see Table 1.1).[60]

Aquaviva, especially, became concerned about the steadily increasing number of colleges that were exclusively for externs and discouraged their establishment. In 1600 a congregation of procurators recommended that the Society establish residences for professed members not directly associated with colleges. It was hoped that such residences could evolve into professed houses. Eight years later the Sixth General Congregation decided that "not only the colleges which contain such seminaries, but also the others in which

58. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, trans., *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York, 1933), 119–254. The quotations are from 241–43.

59. Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, App. B.

60. T. M. McCoog, S.J., "The Finances of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in the Seventeenth Century: Introduction," *Recusant History* 18, 1 (May 1986): 18.



the pursuit of learning is carried on and classes have been opened for the benefit of our fellow men, are in accordance with our Constitutions and Institute."[61]

There the matter rested. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Society enjoyed exclusive control of higher education in Italy, Poland, and Portugal and administered more academies than any other entity in Spain, France, the Spanish Netherlands, or the Catholic-controlled regions of the Germanies and Hungary.[62]

But the Society's success in developing colleges that at one time existed on five continents was a mixed blessing. Sustaining those tuition-free institutions, which beyond Europe were also administrative and mission centers, involved a constant quest for sufficient income. As succeeding chapters will explain, meeting that demand led the Jesuits into unexpected roles as large-scale landlords, slaveowners, bullion brokers, investors, and traders, and brought about protracted controversies.

Later chapters will reveal many situations in which Jesuits reluctantly yielded to the importunities of secular officials and accepted tasks far beyond the intended scope of the Order's activities, as the fathers sometimes candidly conceded. But one opportunity Loyola firmly declined to take: to emulate the Mendicant Orders and create a second Order for women. It has sometimes been said that at one point Loyola did give consideration to the establishment of a female Order. If so, his experience with the likes of D. Isabel Roser and her nephew was so distasteful that he reached a contrary decision.

D. Isabel, a childless widow of a wealthy Catalan, had been a benefactress of Ignatius since the early 1520s. After her husband died in late 1541, she followed Ignatius to Rome, where she took up residence in the House of St. Martha and began a relentless campaign to persuade her old friend to admit her and some friends to the Society. For several years Ignatius evaded her pleas, but D. Isabel was unwilling to give up her ambition. Accordingly, at Christmastime 1545, she petitioned Paul III "to command Master Ignatius to accept my solemn vows" and handed over her remaining property to the Society. Evidently the pope gave in, for on Christmas Day that year D. Isabel and two friends knelt before Ignatius in a small church and pronounced their vows in the Society. As Fr. Hugo Rahner wrote in his delightful study of Ignatius's relations with women, "It was a far from welcome Christmas present for Ignatius." And, in fact, within the next several months D. Isabel made such a nuisance of herself that Ignatius successfully pleaded with the pope to release the three women from their vows.

In the meantime, two of D. Isabel's nephews arrived in the Eternal City. Distressed that they had been disinherited, one of them brought suit against the Jesuits in a papal tribunal. He insisted that "these Jesuits are rogues. Ignatius wished to steal all my aunt's fortune;

61. The foregoing is based upon the digest of Ganss, "The Origin." The quotation is from p. 165.

62. Boehmer, *The Jesuits*, 110. By no means were all Jesuit colleges established *de novo*. As George Huppert has demonstrated (*Public Schools in Renaissance France* [Chicago, 1984]), in France the Society responded to the crown's encouragement and took over a system of municipally founded, funded, and managed colleges. As will be seen in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, Jesuits were not always successful in maintaining control over schools they created. For one such setback, see John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., "The Jesuit College at Padua: Growth, Suppression, Attempts at Restoration: 1552–1606," *AHSI* 51 (Jan.–June 1982): 45–79.

he is a hypocrite and a thief." The court ruled otherwise and compelled the woman to sign a statement denying any wrongdoing by any member of the Society.

A few months later, in May 1547, Ignatius asked Paul III to exempt the Society permanently from the spiritual direction of women in organized communities.[63] By then he already had rejected a plan to establish a house of nuns in Gandia subject to the Society, partly on the ground that there were already enough such houses in that small community.[64] And about the same time, he warned his colleagues in Portugal that "I would not have any dealing with young women of the common people, except in church or in an open place. On the one hand, they are lightheaded, and whether there be foundation for it or not, it frequently happens that such dealings give rise to evil talk. Such females are in general more inclined to be giddy and inconstant in God's service." He then added a revealing qualification: "If I had to deal with women in matters spiritual, it would be with women of birth against whom no breath of evil rumor could arise."[65]

Consistent with this elitist bias—which, in fact, is central to an understanding of the mindset of the early Jesuits—is one of the few passages in the Society's *Constitutions* that concerns women. It stipulates that they are generally to be barred from physical entry into Jesuit facilities, "but if they are persons of great charity or of high rank as well as of great charity, the superior in his discretion will have the power to grant a dispensation for just reasons, that if they so desire they may enter to see it."[66]

One example of the exercise of such "discretion" concerns the admission of the only woman ever to become a Jesuit. Juana of Portugal was a fruit of the union of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (who was also Charles I of Spain), and his wife, Isabel of Portugal. Born in 1535, Juana married the heir apparent to the Portuguese throne in 1552. A sickly youth, her husband died in 1553, a few weeks before the birth of their son, the future King Sebastian, whose ill-fated adventures will be considered in Chapter 4. Soon after her spouse's demise, Juana made a vow to enter the Franciscan Order, but later changed her mind. During the summer of 1554 she entered into negotiations with Loyola to join the Society as a scholastic, employing the pseudonym of "Mateo Sánchez" in her correspondence. The following November the founder took a step that the *Constitutions* pledged that the Society would *not* take: he applied to the pope to commute Juana's earlier vow to join the Franciscans. After the pope acted favorably, the queen regent of Portugal was accepted into the Society. Unlike Isabel Roser, Juana never proved to be troublesome, and upon occasion she was helpful in defending the Society in Spain. She also contributed to the founding of a Jesuit college in Valladolid; but she applied most of her fortune to the establishment of a convent of discalced Poor Clares in her natal city, Madrid. A few years before her death in 1573, her longtime spiritual advisor, Francisco Borgia, became the Society's third superior general.[67]

63. The foregoing is based upon Hugo Rahner, S.J., ed., *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women* (New York, 1960), 251–90. The quotations are from pp. 285, 287, and 290.

64. Loyola to Miguel de Torres, 10 Sept. 1546, in William J. Young, S.J., trans. and ed., *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago, 1959), 100–102. According to Rahner, there were several later attempts to dissuade Loyola from his opposition to second Orders, but none were successful. *Letters to Women*, 323–24.

65. To the members of the Society in Portugal, n.d., in Rahner, *Letters to Women*, 442.

66. *CSJ(C)*, pt. 3, chap. 1, par. 267.

67. Rahner, *Letters to Women*, 52–67. For consistency I shall refer to the third head of the Society as Borgia, though he is also known as Borja, the Spanish form of his name.



Juana's example was never repeated. There would be no Jesuit Order of nuns,[68] nor would there officially be third Orders of pious laymen. Such Orders were also common among the Mendicants. As Rosenwein and Little have written, they "provided alternatives to embracing fully the religious life; their members would continue in worldly pursuits but . . . [also] engage in some of the friars' religious observances and enjoy some of their spiritual benefits, in a way analogous to that in which knights had associated . . . with the monks by joining Cluniac confraternities."[69] Considering Loyola's exceptional understanding of the sources of political and economic power during his time, it is puzzling that confraternities did not play a conspicuous role in the Jesuit enterprise.[70] As will be seen in Volume 2 of this study, when the Jesuits did attempt to promote such organizations during the 1750s, the Portuguese crown directed that such plans be immediately abandoned. But by then the Society was embroiled in many controversies, the roots of which can be traced back to the sixteenth century.

## *The Beginning of Hostility Toward the Society*

From beginning to end, the Society was embroiled in controversy. Between 1523 and 1540, Ignatius and his disciples were the subjects of ten inquisitorial processes in Spain, France, and Rome.[71] Soon after Ignatius reached Venice in 1537, he earned the enduring enmity of Giampietro Carafa, co-founder of the Theatines and the future Pope Paul IV (1555–59), when he criticized Carafa's lifestyle.[72] Although Paul III had been an ardent supporter of the Society, many of his sixteenth-century successors shared Paul IV's grave misgivings about the new Order, fearing that it was primarily a vehicle of imperialistic Philippine Spain.[73]

The sixteenth century was a particularly disputatious period in the religious history of Europe, not only because of the emergence of militant Protestantism, but also because of the appearance of profound divisions within the ranks of equally zealous Catholics. One has only to look at the bitter disputes between the Observant and Conventual Franciscans and their new rivals, the Capuchins.[74] Given the Jesuits' enormous zeal, their exceptional self-confidence, the unconventional aspects of their corporate structure, and their early successes in securing both ecclesiastical and secular support, it was doubtless inevitable that

68. Yet there would be a female Order modeled on the Institute of the Society: the Company of Mary, founded in 1607. See Pilar Foz y Foz, comp., *Fuentes primarias para la historia de la educación de la mujer en Europa y America: Archivos historicos Compañia de Maria Nuestra Señora* (Rome, 1989). I am indebted to Asunción Lavrin for having called this collection to my attention.

69. Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities," *Past and Present* 63 (May 1974): 4–32, at 28.

70. As far as I am aware, Loyola never explicitly stated why he opposed confraternities. In the same directive in which he ruled against a Jesuit Order of nuns in Gandía, he also ruled against the establishment of confraternities there. See note 64.

71. Each is discussed at length in S/*FX*, 1.

72. According to Ludwig Marcuse, Ignatius came close to losing his self-control, perhaps for the first time since Manresa, when he learned of Carafa's election as pope. *Soldier of the Church: A Life of Ignatius Loyola*, trans. and ed. Christopher Lazare (London, 1939), 287.

73. Boehmer, *The Jesuits*, 105–6; Guenter Lewy, "The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Early Years of the Society of Jesus," *Church History* 29 (1960): 141–60, and idem, *Constitutionalism and Statecraft During the Golden Age of Spain: A Study of the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana, S.J.* (Geneva, 1960), chap. 8.

74. J. R. H. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), chap. 43; *HP*, 11: 530–31.

they would find themselves the subjects of polemics from rival churchmen and academicians, especially those associated with the University of Paris, an institution notable for its earlier battles with the Mendicants.[75]

The Society was less than a decade old when it encountered its first serious challenges in Spain, where it opened five dormitory colleges between 1544 and 1546. Though many, particularly the duke of Gandía, applauded the Jesuits' achievements, others were hostile to their arrival. Indeed, Juan Martinez Siliceo, newly appointed archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, went so far as to label them heretics and pointedly prohibited any but parish priests from administering communion within his diocese. In 1547, when Loyola named Antonio Araoz to serve as the first Jesuit provincial in Spain, he unwittingly consigned his kinsman to a hornet's nest. In Saragossa, though supported by the prior of the Dominicans and many notables, the Jesuits were quickly condemned by the Carmelites, Franciscans, Augustinians, and certain members of the local clergy. The new fathers found their situation in Salamanca even more uncomfortable. Although Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza, bishop of Coria, had urged Loyola to open a college in Spain's oldest university, and to that end the Society was able to secure the support of a "learned and wealthy" benefactor, its arrival in Salamanca was strongly opposed by an erudite, highly respected Dominican, Melchior Cano, the ranking theologian at the university.

Fr. Cano became convinced that the Jesuits were "the forerunners of Antichrist," interestingly enough the same designation that William of St. Amour had applied to the Mendicants in thirteenth-century Paris.[76] During the Lenten season in 1548, Fr. Cano preached a university sermon in which he acidly declared that one of the curses of Christendom was "the shortsightedness of those prelates who, in order to please some pious souls, gave their sanction to new and laxly regulated orders. I mean orders whose members go to and fro about the streets like other people—an order of loungers . . .; given up to indolence, they take good care not to mortify the body, they procure for themselves permission to say their prayers out of the curtailed Roman breviary." He went on to accuse the Loyolans of being hypocrites and warned that "what is now deemed holy shall then be accursed and led down to hell" by the Jesuits.

Loyola recognized the Dominican's venom as a serious threat and once again resorted to pulling strings. He enlisted the support of Paul III, Queen Juana of Portugal, and the master general of the Dominican Order. Each issued statements strongly supportive of the Society. For a time, anti-Jesuit sentiment in Spain waned, but it would surge again later in the century when Jesuits and Dominicans locked horns over the doctrine of Grace, a dispute that would linger for two centuries.[77]

Elsewhere during the sixteenth century, other European critics resorted to hysterical diatribes against the sons of Loyola. The Jesuits were castigated as soul poisoners, igniters of public passions, usurpers of the name of Jesus, corrupters of youth (especially princelings),

75. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), 1: 370–71; Moorman, *Franciscan Order*, 127–45.

76. Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History* (New York, 1968), 260–70.

77. *HP*, 13: 92–95; *HCJAE*, 1: chap. 8.



subverters of episcopal authority, and models of immodesty.[78] If the archbishop of Dublin could warn that Jesuits were more dangerous than Martin Luther and "worse than the Jews," the author of a book published in the Germanies in 1593 could go even further when he accused them of being "assassins, ferocious wild boars, thieves, traitors, serpents, vipers . . . filthy billy goats [and] repugnant hogs."[79]

Notwithstanding such libels, the Society enjoyed a spectacular success during the sixteenth century, when it became a key instrument of the Counter-Reformation, a leading educator of European male elites, and one of the most celebrated, widely represented evangelical arms of the Church. Its numerical and institutional growth was especially impressive during the first five generalates, to the death of Aquaviva in 1615 (see Table 1.1). It is true that far fewer men were accepted into the Society than entered the two leading Mendicant Orders during their formative periods. Between 1212 and 1256, for example, 13,000 men joined the Dominican Order; by 1303 their number had increased to 20,650, the approximate size of the Order for the balance of the Middle Ages. Within its first century, the Order of the Friars Minor (the Franciscans) attained an enrollment of about 28,000 members.[80] It is likewise certain that the population of Europe was greater during the sixteenth than during earlier centuries. But the number of options for young men in commerce, warfare, and government administration, as well as in both branches of the Church, was also greater. Those options were clearly available in Portugal and its empire, where, as succeeding chapters will indicate, the sons of Loyola achieved some of their earliest and most striking successes.

78. A convenient summary of many such accusations by hostile churchmen and academicians is *Retrato dos Jesuitas feito ao natural pelos mais sabios, e mais illustres catholicos . . . desde . . . 1540 . . . até 1650* (Lisbon, 1761).

79. Alexandre Brou, *Les Jesuites de la legende*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1906–7), 1: 41–42, as quoted in A. Lynn Martin, "The Jesuit Mystique," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4, 1 (Apr. 1973): 31–40, at 31.

80. Hinnebusch, *History*, 1: 330–31; Southern, *Western Society*, 285.

CHAPTER 2

# Formation of the Province of Portugal, 1541–ca. 1615

The Society of Jesus was instituted to serve or glorify the Lord and His Vicar on earth, and especially to promote the spiritual progress of souls in Christian doctrine and living, and the propagation of the faith, by means of a wide variety of ministries.

— Loyola, *Constitutions*

As SOON AS papal authorization seemed assured, Ignatius began assigning his representatives abroad to initiate evangelical, educational, and other activities. Within a generation the Society became firmly planted in Italy, France, the Germanies, eastern Europe, and the Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian Peninsula became the springboard for Jesuit enterprises on four continents beyond Europe. Many of the Society's triumphs and not a few of its reverses occurred in lands that Portugal sought to dominate. Before considering the foundations of Jesuit endeavors in those lands, it is pertinent to examine how the Order became established in Portugal, where so many Jesuits originated and were trained before venturing overseas.

## *The Rise of Portugal*

Portugal, situated along the western reaches of the Iberian Peninsula, today is roughly the size of the state of Indiana. But when it was created (1095) as a county of the interior kingdom of León, it was a rectangular block of land between the Douro River in the south and Galicia in the north. Its southward expansion occurred in a series of stages during the next century; the liberation of Lisbon (1147) was one of the most important steps in the formation of an independent kingdom, recognized as such by the papacy in 1179. By 1250 the last of the longtime Muslim occupants of the country had been conquered and, with the exception of one enclave lost to Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Portugal assumed its present dimensions. In 1415 Portugal led Europe's drive for global mastery when it captured Ceuta, a North African caravan terminus and seaport that became the first step in the establishment of the famed Portuguese thalassocracy. By the 1540s, Portuguese fortress-





factories (*feitorias*) were widely scattered along the coasts of Brazil, Africa, and Asia and, supplemented by warships, were symbols of Lusitanian efforts (never wholly successful) to dominate trade between the Sea of Japan and the Atlantic Ocean. If the kingdom itself produced only mundane exports such as salt, fish, olive oil, and wine, the empire yielded impressive quantities of gold, ivory, slaves, dyestuffs, textiles, spices, precious gems, and other exotic goods that made Portugal the envy of all Europe.[1]

Despite its increasing international importance, Portugal remained one of the most sparsely populated countries in Europe. By the second quarter of the sixteenth century its inhabitants numbered close to 1.3 million, compared with 7 million living in the neighboring Spanish kingdoms, 14 million in France, and 3 million in England.[2] According to Portugal's first national census, completed between 1527 and 1531, the kingdom contained 91 cities, towns, and villages, but only 12.5 percent of its population resided in such communities. Lisbon, the city by the Tagus, possessed between 50,000 and 70,000 inhabitants, almost four times as many as the second-ranking cities in the kingdom—Porto and Évora—each of which counted about 15,000 citizens. Santarém, Beja, and Elvas contained less than 10,000, whereas Aveiro, Estremoz, Viana, and Vila do Conde held about 4,000. Guimarães, Lagos, Portalegre, and Setúbal could claim no more than 1,600 inhabitants each.

Portugal was, therefore, mostly a rural country and would long remain so. Lisbon, the largest city in the Iberian Peninsula and third ranking metropolis in Europe after Paris and Constantinople, would surpass 100,000 inhabitants by mid-century and would contain 165,000 persons by 1619. The kingdom's leading seaport, the center of its burgeoning empire, and increasingly the official residence of the royal family, Lisbon welcomed the first Jesuits to enter Portugal.

## *The Coming of the Jesuits*

In June 1540, the first two Jesuits reached the Portuguese capital. One, Francis Xavier, was destined to remain in the kingdom for only a year before beginning his spectacular decade of missionary endeavors in the East (see Chapter 3), but his companion, Simão Rodrigues, would reluctantly stay and become the controversial founder of his Order in the kingdom. Their arrival was gratifying to the Portuguese ruler, John III (1521–57), who had been anxious to recruit Jesuits to serve in his realm for many months. Even before the Society had gained papal approval, the monarch wrote to his ambassador in Rome that he had learned from Master Diogo de Gouveia in Paris

1. Concerning the evolution of Portugal, see OM/*HP*, vol. 1; and the early volumes of VS/*HP*. See also *DHP*, 3: 432–51. On the development of the empire, the best introduction remains C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York, 1969), but see also Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis, 1977).

2. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Estrutura da antiga sociedade portuguesa*, 3d ed. (Lisbon, 1977), 21–41. See also A[ntonio] de Sousa e Silva Costa Lobo, *Historia da sociedade em Portugal no século xv* (Lisbon, 1903), esp. chap. 1; Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, "Povoação da Estremadura no xvi século," *Archivo histórico portuguez* 6, 7 (July 1908): 241–84; Victor Ribeiro, "A vida lisboeta nos séculos xv e xvi," *Archivo histórico portuguez* 8 (1911): 308–37; and Maria de Lourdes Akola do Carmo Neto, "Demografia," *DHP*, 1: 796–97.

> that certain learned clerics of exemplary life have left Paris . . . [and] have taken a vow of poverty in the service of God and live only upon the alms of the faithful, and they preach and produce great fruit wherever they go . . . [and that] it is their intention to convert the heathen; and they say that if it pleases our Holy Father . . . they will go to India. Therefore it seems to me that since they are men of such character and intent, they would be of great service to our Lord there, and would produce great fruit for the faith.

Accordingly, the king directed his ambassador, D. Pedro Mascarenhas, to urge the pope to approve the establishment of the Society and to make every effort to recruit as many of its members as possible to come to his kingdom.[3] Not only because of his zeal to serve his ruler but also because he himself had engaged the services of Loyola as his personal confessor, Mascarenhas energetically complied with the king's directive.

Shortly after the arrival of "the Roman fathers," as these first Jesuits were initially called, they gained a private audience with John III and his wife, Catarina de Austria, who treated them "with a great display of benevolence."[4] The king, praised by some as John the Pious because of his support of ecclesiastical reforms and scorned by others as a fanatic because of his enthusiastic support of the Portuguese Inquisition (first authorized in 1536), his stifling of free thought in the national university (see below), and his ardent assistance to the Jesuits,[5] quickly became a great admirer of the Ignatians, as did members of his court, including his brothers, the infantes D. Luís (b. 1506–d. 1555) and D. Henrique, later Cardinal Henry (b. 1512–d. 1580).[6] After conversations with the new fathers, observation of their self-effacing, saintly characters, and the receipt of reports concerning their energetic spiritual work in Lisbon's hospitals and prisons, the king referred to them as "the apostles," the appellation Jesuits would employ in reference to themselves for centuries to come. Not surprisingly, John III told one of his nobles that he would like to have the entire Society come to his kingdom, even if that were to cost him part of his empire.[7]

The king's enthusiasm for these new "soul curers" may have stemmed in part from his need for religious consolation in the face of a long series of personal losses affecting most of his siblings and all nine of his children, none of whom survived to the age of twenty.[8] But it also derived from his conviction that the Jesuits could contribute significantly to the moral uplifting of both ecclesiastical and lay persons in his kingdom. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the need for such improvement was as well recognized in Portugal as it was in other parts of Europe. In that western kingdom, too, ecclesiastical simony, absenteeism, concubinage, inattention to spiritual duties, lack of discipline, excessive pomp, and preoccupation with worldly concerns were all too evident. Leading prelates set

3. King to Mascarenhas, Lisbon, 4 Aug. 1539, S/*FX*, 1: 543.

4. Baltasar Teles, *Chronica da companhia de Jesu na provincia de Portugal*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1645–47), 1: bk. 1, chap. 8.

5. Naturally, conservative historians in Portugal have always regarded John favorably, whereas their liberal opponents have denounced him as a reactionary. See the historiographical summary in S/*FX*, 1: 601; cf. J. D. M. Ford, ed., *Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521–1557* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), xvi–xviii, and OM/*HP*, 1: 215.

6. S/*FX*, 1: 608, nn. 102–3, provide biographical sketches of the two royal princes. See also note 33. Much more will be said about Cardinal Henry in Chapters 4 and 13.

7. Ibid., 1: 603–4.

8. OM/*HP*, 1: 215.



the tone by their opulent lifestyles, which tended to include legions of offspring, some of whom attained high positions in the Church; parish curates likewise lived openly with their concubines, and inmates of religious houses were accused of ignoring their vows of chastity. Both John and his predecessor, Manuel the Fortunate (1495–1521), supported efforts by leading Portuguese clergymen to purge the Church of such vices. In some Orders, such as the Recollects, the Capuchins, the Shod Carmelites, and the Dominicans, significant improvements were made before the arrival of the first Jesuits; but in others, particularly the houses of Benedictines, Augustinians, and Cistercians, there was resistance to their superiors' efforts to improve discipline and to instill greater religious fervor.[9] Consequently, the Jesuits arrived in Portugal at a propitious time, for they seemed well equipped by their training, moral fervor, experience, and dedication to assist prominent reformers like D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires, O.P., archbishop of Braga and member of the Council of Trent, in their efforts to improve the quality of religious life in the kingdom.

The newly arrived Jesuits had intended to engage in the same activities they and their colleagues had been pursuing in Italy for the past several years. They preferred popular ministries, celebrating Mass in the major Lisbon hospital, attending to the spiritual and physical needs of its inmates and of doomed prisoners, and preaching in public squares. Instead, they found themselves spending most of their time at the royal court.[10] There they heard confessions of its members and of those who came to the palace on private business. They administered the Spiritual Exercises to prominent persons and enjoyed close relations with members of the nobility, leading government officials, and supportive ecclesiastics—contacts that would prove invaluable when the Jesuits began to erect their own facilities in the kingdom and elsewhere. As an obviously jubilant Xavier wrote, "This court has undergone a great reform, so much so . . . that it is more like a religious house than a court. So many go to confession and receive Communion every week that God must be given praise and thanks. . . . We are so busy hearing confessions that even if there were twice as many [of us] we would still have more penitents than we could handle. We are occupied the whole day and part of the night solely with the people at court."[11]

Though such an enthusiastic response may have been gratifying, it also proved to be an obstacle, for both Rodrigues and Xavier yearned to go on to India. The former worried: "Master Francis and I are somewhat concerned that we may be prevented from going. . . . It seems . . . that the king does not wish this, since he says that we are much needed [here]."[12] In the end the crown compromised: the king agreed that Xavier could sail to the East, as he did in April 1541, but insisted that Rodrigues must stay in the kingdom.

Although he was always frustrated by his inability to evangelize abroad, first in India and later in Brazil, Simão Rodrigues (b. 1510–d. 1579) rendered the Society invaluable service, first as superior (1540–46) and later as provincial (1546–52) of the Portuguese province—the

9. The most incisive analysis of the decadence of the Church in Portugal and of attempted reforms is José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *Correntes de sentimento religioso em Portugal (séculos xvi a xviii)*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1960), which, despite its title, really extends only to 1550. See also Henrique da Gama Barros, *História da administração publica em Portugal nos si'eculos xii a xv*, 2d ed., ed. Torquato de Sousa Soares, 11 vols. (Lisbon, 1945–54), 2: 13–289.

10. Teles, *Chronica*, 1:1, chap. 9.

11. S/*FX*, 1: 669–70.

12. Ibid., 1: 672.

first of a dozen formed during the generalate of Ignatius. The son of a member of the provincial nobility in northern Portugal, Rodrigues was "tall, [of] an olive complexion, with dark hair and beard, and a distinguished gate which [supposedly] betrayed his noble origin." Though his companions admired him for his achievements, they came to regard him as hot-tempered, as an indifferent but stubborn administrator, and ultimately as a source of embarrassment. Loyola was eventually compelled to use considerable tact to persuade his old friend to surrender his office and return to Rome.[13] Nevertheless, it was Rodrigues who took the first steps toward the permanent establishment of the Jesuit enterprise in the kingdom of Portugal, where it would flourish for more than two centuries and provide the kingdom and empire with many of its leaders.

## *Beginnings of an Enterprise*

The first and always one of the most important of the Jesuit installations was the college of Santo Antão, situated in the district of Mouraria just north of Castle Hill, in the heart of today's downtown Lisbon. At one time the site was an exercise ground for horses. Later a Muslim mosque was built there, and around 1400 it was succeeded by a monastery of the fathers of Santo Antão, an Order that practiced the Augustinian Rule and was devoted to the care of the sick.[14] From about 1515 until 1539, Dominican nuns occupied the monastery, but in the latter year they were reassigned to another house. The monastery again briefly became the home of the fathers of Santo Antão, then a dying Order, but in 1541 its five houses were converted into an episcopal benefice, and the Order became virtually extinct. The same year, the king assigned the Jesuits title to the revenues of the vacant monastery of Cárquere, located 3 kilometers from the city of Lamego on the Douro River. Because Simão Rodrigues was anxious to have a Jesuit residence in Lisbon to accommodate an increasing number of recruits and to serve as a domicile for missionaries bound for the empire, he arranged to exchange the Cárquere property for that of Santo Antão.

The Jesuits took possession of the monastery, subsequently known as Santo Antão *o velho* (Old St. Anthony's), on 5 January 1542. For a decade it remained as a dormitory college, but in 1552 it became the Society's first Lisbon college for the education of both Jesuits and externs. Although the president of the Lisbon council (*cámara*) urged that admission of laymen be restricted to the sons of the nobility and others of genteel backgrounds, fearing that otherwise there would develop a shortage of artisans and others necessary to perform essential but humble tasks in the city, the Jesuits rejected this advice. They insisted that their classes would be gratis—the Society's customary policy—and that they would be open

13. Loyola to Rodrigues, 27 Dec. 1551; Loyola to Diego Mirón, 24 and 26 July and 3 Aug. 1553; in William J. Young, S.J., trans. and ed., *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Chicago, 1959), 254, 302–4. Rodrigues has remained a controversial figure in the history of the Society. His earliest biographer, António Franco, S.J. (*Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da companhia de Jesus na corte de Lisboa* [Coimbra, 1717], bk. 1, chaps. 4–23), was very laudatory. Modern Jesuit assessments include *HCJAP*, 1:2, bk. 1, and S/*FX*, 1: 189–90. Ludwig Marcuse, *Soldier of the Church: A Life of Ignatius Loyola*, trans. and ed. Christopher Lazare (London, 1939), chap. 33, provides a popular account that is not wholly fair to Rodrigues. I have not seen José Carlos Monteiro Pacheco, *Simão Rodrigues: Iniciador da companhia de Jesus em Portugal* (Braga, 1987).

14. *HIP*, 1: 135 and 331.



to everyone, regardless of social station. As will be seen later, the latter policy was not always followed in their overseas colleges, which shaped admissions standards in accordance with the values held by local elites.[15]

Both the church of Santo Antão and that of the new novitiate and later professed house of São Roque (see below) became popular places of worship for members of the Lisbon aristocracy and the royal family. In 1555, for example, the first rector of the college reported that 1,200 persons confessed at both churches on Jubilee Sunday.[16] Santo Antão soon proved too cramped for the growing number of residents and externs. Accordingly, in 1579, construction of Santo Antão *o novo* (New St. Anthony's), a much larger facility, began. Fourteen years later the new college admitted its first students. By then the original college had been sold to Augustinians.[17] Both the original school and the successor college were more than educational facilities. They also served as the principal administrative headquarters of the Society in the kingdom and became the residence of the provincial and of several procurators who tended to the economic and personnel requirements of the overseas provinces (see Chapters 12 and 23). As will be seen later, Santo Antão was always in precarious financial shape, despite the fact that it was the only Jesuit college in the kingdom to own several sugar plantations in Brazil (see Chapter 16).[18]

In 1553, when Jerónimo Nadal visited the Portuguese province on behalf of Ignatius, he became convinced that the professed members of the Order ought to be housed separately from its novices and scholastics. At that point John III offered the Society five facilities, including the hermitage of São Roque, situated on a hill immediately to the west of the old city walls. The hermitage dated from the reign of Manuel I, when the kingdom was afflicted by plague and the ruler dispatched emissaries to Venice, where they procured relics of Saint Rock (ca. 1295–1327), a famous Montpellier-born plague-curer.[19] In 1506 a hermitage was constructed to preserve those relics. It was situated in an olive orchard on a hill beyond the São Roque gate and near a cemetery where plague victims were buried. Despite the objections of the custodial confraternity responsible for the hermitage, the king assigned it to the Jesuits and authorized them to transform it into a novitiate. He suggested that it include a grandiose temple in which he could be buried, but the fathers protested that this would be a violation of their devotion to poverty. In 1566 the Jesuits

15. *HCJAP*, 1:2, 290. One scholar has offered the startling suggestion that Jesuit colleges "had a student body that adequately represented the community. In general, there is evidence to show that normally the college was made up of youths predominately from the middle class, with a goodly fringe of nobles and of the poor." William H. McCabe, S.J., *An Introduction to Jesuit Theatre* (St. Louis, 1983), 9. Fr. McCabe's communities evidently consist solely of men! In any case, no such evidence survives concerning admissions to the colleges discussed in this study.

16. Inácio de Azevedo to Loyola, Lisbon, 31 Dec. 1555, *MB*, 5: 74–81, at 75.

17. Supposedly, the building was sold for 560,000 rs. [Anon.], *História dos mosteiros conventos e casas religiosas de Lisboa*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1950–72), 2: 36.

18. The founding of the two Santo Antão colleges is told in a late-sixteenth-century Jesuit account in ARSI, *Lus.*, 77, fols. 1–4, and in more detail in Teles, *Chronica*, 1: bk. 1, chaps. 16–17; *HIP*, 2: 170–71; [Anon.], *História dos mosteiros*, 2: 35–36; *HCJAP*, 1:1, 281–97, 617–19, and 1:2, 285–302. I. de Vilhena Barbosa, "Fragmentos de um roteiro de Lisboa (inedito): Antiguidades do governo intruso dos Felippes de Castella," *Archivo pittoresco* 5 (Lisbon, 1862): 369ff. António Lopes, S.J., *Roteiro histórico dos Jesuítas em Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1985), is a popular but also very useful account of the founding of all Jesuit institutions within the confines of the modern city; its maps and illustrations are particularly helpful.

19. A. Fliche, "Le Problème de St. Roch," *Analecta bollandiana* 68 (1950): 343–61.

began to replace their primitive chapel at São Roque with a much more ample church. It was designed by Felippe Terzo, an Italian architect who introduced in the kingdom a new single-nave style of architecture. In time that church became (and remains) one of the glories of Lisbon.

São Roque did not become a professed house until 1590. Before then it functioned as the province's first novitiate. When plague again visited the capital in 1569, the novices were shifted from there to other houses to escape the contagion. That action stimulated proposals to relocate the novitiate. In 1585 the Society acquired a farm in a locale called Campolide, situated on the northern outskirts of the capital. Construction of the new novitiate began soon after, and it functioned there from 1597 until 1603. In 1603 the provincial leaders decided to locate the facility on Monte Olivete da Cotovia in the Rato district. The Cotovia house, founded very close to the later site of the Academy of Sciences, was not finished until 1619.[20]

Like those of its rivals, the Society's houses became important recruitment centers. This was particularly true of two other Jesuit institutions in the kingdom. The first was the College of Arts at the University of Coimbra. Founded in 1290, Portugal's first national university was repeatedly shifted by its monarchs between Lisbon and Coimbra and was not definitively located in the north-central community until 1537.[21] When universities were first formed during the High Middle Ages, the religious Orders, especially the Mendicants, sought facilities in them to serve as recruitment and training grounds. During the 1540s and 1550s, Carmelites, Dominicans, Shod Augustinians, and other Orders followed this practice by establishing two kinds of boarding-house college at the Portuguese institutions, one for their own students who had taken simple vows, the other for the sons of wealthy aristocrats.

Shortly after their arrival in Portugal, the Jesuits, too, became interested in founding their own college at Coimbra. Indeed, Loyola responded to the king's plea that Simão Rodrigues remain in the kingdom when Xavier proceeded to India in part because he hoped that Rodrigues might establish a college in Coimbra that would train missionaries for service abroad.[22] In 1541 the Jesuit superior took the initial step toward that goal when he secured from the king the aforementioned income from the Cárquere monastic lands. The next year he visited Coimbra to select a site for what became the College of Jesus. Construction began in 1547.[23]

20. There is a brief coeval sketch of the founding of São Roque in ARSI, *Lus.*, 82, fols. 101a–101b[v]. More extensive early accounts of both that house and Cotovia are in Franco, *Lisboa*, 3, 5, 6, and 8; Teles, *Chronica*, 2:4, chaps. 20–28; *HIP*, 2: 171; *HCJAP*, 1:1, 619–29; 2:1, 181–85; [Anon.], "Santa Casa de Misericórdia: Antiga casa professa dos Jesuítas em S. Roque," *Archivo pittoresco* 5 (1862): 294–96, 311–12, and 408–9; [Anon.], "Noviciado dos Jesuitas em sitio da Cotovia," *Archivo pittoresco* 6 (1863): 244–46, 270–71. For an exterior view of São Roque, see Robert C. Smith, *The Art of Portugal, 1500–1800* (New York, 1968), pl. 35.

21. [José Maria] de Queiroz Velloso, "A universidade de Lisboa-Coimbra (1290–1537)," ACL, *Boletim*, n.s. 1 (1930): 771–94. The major histories of the university are the highly partisan account by Teófilo Braga, *História da universidade de Coimbra*, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1892–1902), and the more dispassionate tomes of Mario Brandão and M. Lopes d'Almeida, *A universidade de Coimbra: Esboço da sua historia*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1937).

22. S/*FX*, 1: 672.

23. The establishment of the college and the later novitiate at Coimbra is described by Teles, *Chronica*, 1:1, chaps. 19–20, and 1:2, chap. 14, and by António Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da companhia de Jesus no real collegio de Jesus de Coimbra em Portugal*, 2 vols. (Évora and Coimbra, 1719), 1: bk. 1, chaps. 1–4. See also *HIP*, 2: 172–74, and *HCJAP*, 1:1, 405ff. By the *alvará* (decree) of 5 June 1542, the king directed the Augustinian prior of Santa Cruz monastery (Coimbra) to arrange hospitality for the first Jesuits: *DHJP*, 120. By another directive of 26 Oct. 1542, the sovereign also instructed the aldermen of the city to issue a license permitting the Jesuits to acquire lands in Coimbra; ibid., 123.



Also in 1547, John III founded what was intended to become Portugal's premier humanistic college, the Royal College or College of Arts and Humanities, modeled after the Collège Royal, founded by Francis I in 1530.[24] By royal command, André de Gouveia, longtime principal of the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, a leading French preparatory school, was summoned home to administer the new Portuguese college. Gouveia belonged to a remarkable pedagogical family whose members came from Beja and Coimbra and included his nephew, Diogo de Gouveia, then director of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe attended by Loyola and his disciples in Paris. André de Gouveia complied with the king's wishes and brought to Coimbra a distinguished faculty from his former school. They included French, Scottish, and Portuguese specialists in arts, mathematics, rhetoric, humanities, and classical languages.

The new college rapidly attracted more than a thousand students but very soon lost its initial director, for André de Gouveia died suddenly in 1548. His successor was Diogo de Gouveia, who came from Paris with another group of academicians. But almost immediately the Parisian and Bordeaux contingents began to quarrel over doctrinal matters. The newly founded Coimbra office of the Inquisition investigated allegations that one or the other faction was guilty of crimes ranging from heresy to homosexuality. Teófilo Braga, indefatigable historian of the university, contended that the Jesuits, anxious to gain control over the prestigious college, actually planted those accusations, but, as a leading Jesuit scholar, Francisco Rodrigues, pointed out, Braga submitted no convincing proof to support his charge.[25]

Whatever the merits of this dispute, the fact is that the Jesuits benefited from the doctrinal quarrel within the college. By 1550 the Holy Office had arrested several members of the Bordeaux faction, including the Scot George Buchanan and the Portuguese savant Diogo de Teive. But its staff failed to find evidence of their guilt and released them less than two years later. Buchanan promptly fled the country, but Teive briefly became head of the college.[26] In mid-1555, John III abruptly ordered Teive to transfer administrative control of his faculty to the Jesuits.[27]

The king provided no explanation for his startling directive. The contention by Braga and others that the Jesuits had conspired to gain control of this plum is as unproved as is Braga's assertion that the decadence of what had never been a first-class university stemmed

24. On the creation of the College of Arts, see Mário Brandão, *O collegio das artes*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1924–33). The original statutes governing the college are printed in *DHJP*, 4–11; revisions issued during the reign of Sebastian (1557–78) are in ibid., 416–35. The anomalous relationship between the college and the university is somewhat clarified by the *provisão* of 12 Jan. 1550 (ibid., 51–53) placing the college under the supervision of the rector of the university.

25. Braga, *Historia da universidade de Coimbra*, 1: 529; cf. *HCJAP*, 1:2, 337 n. 1.

26. Mário Brandão, *A inquisição e os professores do colegio das artes* (Coimbra, 1948); Guilherme J. C. Henriques, "Buchanan na inquisição," *Archivo historico portuguez* 4, 7 (July 1906): 241–80. George Buchanan, a Latin tragedian, later became the tutor of Mary Stuart of Scotland and James VI of England.

27. Order of 10 Sept. 1555, *DHJP*, 180–81.

from the Jesuits' acquisition of its arts college.[28] Unquestionably the Jesuits used their new opportunity to purge the faculty of members unsympathetic to their views and to gain further concessions from the crown. In 1560, for example, students attending the college became exempt from payment of fees and from a requirement to take an oath of loyalty to university authorities. Another royal decree stipulated that Jesuits who had earned their degrees elsewhere would be regarded as having training equivalent to that offered at Coimbra. Most important of all, in 1561 a royal order prohibited any student from entering Canons or Laws without a degree from the College of Arts, a stipulation that enabled the Jesuits to screen out those whom they considered unfit to master those critical disciplines.[29]

For a time the Jesuits continued to operate both the College of Jesus and the College of Arts. In the late 1560s the two were housed together, and a few years later they were fully integrated. Within the next six decades the number of students enrolled in the College of Arts increased to about 1,800. Many of the college's graduates served with distinction as missionaries and royal officials throughout the kingdom and empire.[30]

Viewing the Jesuits' successful educational enterprises, a disgruntled Augustinian chronicler charged that leaders of the Society aspired to gain complete control over all levels of education within Portugal. There is no explicit evidence of such a plan, and it is easy to exaggerate the extent to which the Jesuits came to dominate the nation's cultural life. For example, the Society never possessed full authority over the University of Coimbra. Beginning in 1576 the institution came under the jurisdiction of the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, a royal board charged with responsibility for religious affairs in the kingdom and its empire.[31]

Nevertheless, there was another university where the Society became clearly dominant. Since the fifteenth century, the crown had contemplated establishing a second national university. The site proposed was the old walled city of Évora. But the plans for its establishment were stillborn because of insufficient funds and a scarcity of teaching personnel.[32] The man who took the initiative in promoting the university was one of John III's brothers, Cardinal Henry.[33] In 1551, during the first of two occasions when he served as archbishop of Évora, Henry invited the Jesuits to open a university in his see to provide for the instruction

28. Braga, *Historia da universidade de Coimbra*, 1: esp. 529, 565, and 592; 2: 185 and 205; cf. Brandão and d'Almeida, *A universidade de Coimbra*, 1: 206, where the king's decision to assign the college to Jesuit administration is reported without editorial comment.

29. Brandão and d'Almeida, *A universidade de Coimbra*, 2: 205–6. That stipulation, however, merely reiterated the injunction in the alvará of 6 Apr. 1548, which directed that no student hear Laws, Canons, Theology, or Medicine "sem certidão do principal do collegio das artes"; *DHJP*, 25. See also the order of 9 Sept. 1556 concerning the granting of masters' degrees. Ibid., 217. No evidence has surfaced that would convincingly demonstrate that the Jesuits deliberately excluded qualified applicants from classes in the fields listed above.

30. Enrollment estimates for the late 1550s are given in Gonçalo Vaz de Melo to Diego Lainez, Lisbon, 26 June 1557, *MB*, 5: 131; *HCJAP*, 1:2, 366. For the college's subsequent growth, see Braga, *Historia da universidade de Coimbra*, 1: 568; *HIP*, 2: 175; and Eduardo de Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1901), 12: 140 n. 2.

31. OM/*HP*, 1: 298.

32. Ibid., 1: 196.

33. Henry became archbishop of Évora for the first time in 1540; five years later he was named a cardinal. In 1564 he served as archbishop of Lisbon, and in 1574 he again became archbishop of Évora. From 1562 until 1568 he also served as regent for his nephew, Sebastian, and, as will be seen in Chapter 4, was briefly king himself. S/*FX*, 1: 640 n. 103.



of his clergy. Master Simão Rodrigues and nine of his followers accepted the challenge. Emulating Loyola's disciples (who, as seen in the last chapter, made their way on foot from Paris to Venice in 1537), they walked and begged their way from Coimbra to Évora. Late in 1551, the ten Jesuits formally opened the College of the Holy Spirit (Espírito Santo) in Évora; by 1554 its enrollment reached some 300 pupils, about half the number then attending Old St. Anthony's College in Lisbon.[34] Its first rector was Melchior Carneiro, who later became bishop of Ethiopia (see Chapter 3). In 1558 Cardinal Henry applied to Pope Paul IV to approve the new institution's status as a university and signified his intent to place it under Jesuit supervision. The pope consented, and on 1 November 1559 the Jesuits took formal possession of the incipient university. Subsequently the cardinal and other benefactors endowed several additional colleges, but Évora was never able to offer an array of classes as wide as Coimbra's.[35]

Soon after the Society began to administer the University of Évora, it also became responsible for three colleges in northern Portugal. In the late 1550s Francisco Borgia, formerly the duke of Gandia, but now special Jesuit commissioner in the kingdom, negotiated a series of agreements with local ecclesiastical dignitaries in the kingdom who were eager to facilitate the founding of Jesuit schools in their sees. The first to be founded was the college of São Lourenço, which opened its doors in Porto on the feast of St. Lawrence (10 August) in 1560. That act marked the fulfillment of three years of planning by the local bishop, the municipal council, and Jesuit representatives.[36] The second new college was that of São Paulo, founded in the ancient ecclesiastical center of Braga. Its archbishop had established an episcopal college in that community in the 1530s, but his distinguished successor, Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires, yearned to have the college grow and to entrust its administration to the Jesuits, whom he much admired. Borgia agreed to accept the school, and in 1561 it was formally proclaimed to be a Jesuit college.[37] The last of the trio was the remote college of Bragança, situated in the mountainous northeastern town of that name. Its creation owed much to the leadership of both Archbishop Mártires and the local ordinary, D. Julião Alva, who had hoped for such a facility for years by the time the school began to function in 1562. Within its first six years the new college reported that its enrollment had grown to 330 students.[38]

34. *HP*, 13: 190.

35. No adequate history of the College of the Holy Spirit seems to exist. Useful among contemporary sources are António Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da companhia de Jesus no real collegio do espirito santo de Évora* (Lisbon, 1714), chaps. 1 and 4, and 881–82; Teles, *Chronica*, 1:3, chaps. 17, 19 and 21; 2:5, chaps. 14–26; António Franco, *Évora ilustrada: Extraida da obra do mesmo nome de P^e Manuel [F]ialho*, ed. Armando de Gusmão (Évora, 1945), bk. 3, 233–309. See also *HIP*, 2: 176–77; *HCJAP*, 1:1, 578–85, and 2:1, 85–110; José Maria de Queiroz Velloso, *A universidade de Évora: Elementos para a sua história* (Lisbon, 1949), is a series of sketchy chapters based upon half-century-old notes!

36. *HCJAP*, 1:2, 404–13.

37. Ibid., 1:2, 413–27. The beginnings of the college and the legal agreements assuring its financial support are detailed in *MB*, 5: 197, 242–55, 265–80, 328–29, and 387–88. Ernest Domingues, S.J., *Braga de 1560 a 1565 visto do colégio de S. Paulo* (Braga, 1973), is based upon these published sources and adds nothing new.

38. ARSI, FG, 1379/2; *HCJAP*, 1:2, 428–32.

During the remainder of the century, the province of Portugal expanded to the southwest and west and formed three insular colleges. The first, the college of Funchal, was created in the aftermath of a devastating raid on Madeira Island by French corsairs in 1568. Three Jesuit fathers accompanied the subsequent relief expedition to the island, and in the course of a year of spiritual ministrations inspired such enthusiasm among the locals that the islanders petitioned the crown to underwrite the establishment of a college in their capital city. Since both Francisco Borgia (by then the father general) and King Sebastian (1557–78) favored the project, the college was authorized. In 1570 a dozen Jesuits sailed from Lisbon and founded the college. Two years later the first of two colleges in the Azores was established at Angra on the island of Terceira, thereby fulfilling the ambition of a wealthy landowner who had sought such an institution for a dozen years. Another affluent islander came forward to endow a third archipelagic college, that of Ponta Delgada on the Azorean island of São Miguel, which began to function in 1591.[39]

These were the last educational and training facilities that the province of Portugal formed during the sixteenth century. The Irish seminary of St. Patrick, founded by a secular priest and located at the foot of Lisbon's famous Castle Hill, was already functioning in the 1590s, but Jesuits would not assume responsibility for it until 1605.[40] The openings of several additional institutions, including the province's second (and last) professed house at Vila Viçosa and colleges at Santarém, Elvas, Portalegre, and Faro, were already being planned as the Society's first six decades in the kingdom came to a close.[41]

Three features of the beginnings of Jesuit enterprise in Portugal and its Atlantic islands warrant further consideration. First, apart from their overseas missions and occasional preaching ventures into the countryside of the kingdom, the Jesuits, like their most prominent Mendicant predecessors, and unlike the earlier Carthusians, Premonstratensians, and Cistercians, preferred from the outset to erect their institutions in urban situations, rather than in rural areas. That urban emphasis was obviously consistent with the Society's activist, service-oriented character. Second, and contradictorily, the Order took a largely passive role in the creation of the educational institutions with which it would long be associated. But that situation was far from unique to the Portuguese province. As Marc Venard observed with respect to Jesuit institutional foundations in France, "It was rare when the Jesuits decided, by their own initiative, to establish in such or such a place. Most often, they were solicited by some authority, bishop, prince, or municipality."[42] That was, of course, also true of their educational beginnings in other parts of Europe as well. Third, the Jesuits' reception in Portugal was by no means uniformly supportive. The usually reliable Ludwig von Pastor was misinformed when he wrote that "the enmities and difficulties with

39. *HCJAP*, 2:1, 37–83.

40. The seminary, partly funded by Irish merchants in Lisbon, was intended to house a dozen Irish youths during their training for the priesthood. The facility was really a dormitory, and inmates attended classes at Santo Antão. The students resided in temporary quarters until 1611, when a Portuguese *fidalgo* purchased a former Carmelite convent to serve as their permanent residence. Teles, *Chronica*, 2:4, chap. 41; [Anon.], *História dos mosteiros*, 2: 95–102; *HCJAP*, 2:1, 134–38. By the 1630s the Dominicans also maintained a seminary for Irish refugee students in Lisbon, as they did in Andalucia as well. [Anon.], *História dos mosteiros*, 2: 123–30.

41. *HCJAP*, 2:1, 29–33, 112ff., 119–34. See also Chapter 4.

42. As quoted in A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 16.



which the ... Society ... had to struggle in Spain, did not, happily, assail them in ... Portugal."[43] "Enmities" and "difficulties" surely existed there as well. Soon after the Jesuits took over Old St. Anthony's, the suspicious archbishop of Lisbon expressed misgivings about their spiritual aid to those who sought their help. He ordered them to abstain from hearing confessions and barred an Augustinian friar from preaching in St. Anthony's church. During the mid-1540s, rumors circulated in the kingdom that the pope had never really authorized the formation of the Society, that Simão Rodrigues had improperly claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the heads of the secular clergy, and that Jesuit novices were being ordained within less than a month. Rival religious Orders, claiming to be "more perfect" (that is, more orthodox) than the Jesuits, engaged in what modern football coaches would recognize as "raiding" by attempting to persuade Jesuit recruits to switch their allegiance.[44]

If some warmly applauded the coming of the Jesuits to their communities, others remained markedly hostile. The forced sale of certain properties in Coimbra to the College of Jesus led to an incident in which a group of rowdies knocked down one of the walls of the college, provoking an indignant John III to demand that city authorities restore that structure promptly.[45] Although Archbishop Mártires wanted a Jesuit college in Braga, that community's aldermen did not, for they claimed that such a facility would violate the rights of other Orders already established there and that additional students in the community would lead to a shortage of foodstuffs.[46] In 1562 the Portuguese parliament (*cortes*) protested the Jesuits' growing number and affluence. A decade later the captain-donatary of Madeira opposed the founding of the college of Funchal because he was convinced that the Jesuits were really spies.[47]

## *Growth of an Enterprise*

Despite the persistence of carping in certain quarters, the new Jesuit schools attracted increasing numbers of students, many of whom elected to join the Order. Among the recruits were some conspicuous members of the aristocracy. They included the brother of the duke of Bragança, a close relative of the king; the sons of the governor of the city of Lisbon; the secretary of the *casa da India*, the government agency charged with supervision of trade and navigation between the kingdom and its empire; and a son of the captain of Madeira.[48] Early chroniclers of the Society, such as the frequently cited António Franco, naturally gave prominent places in their accounts to the minority of aristocrats who entered their Order, but, as later chapters will demonstrate, many of its recruits were humble artisans, contrite businessmen, retired soldiers, government bureaucrats, and worn-out adventurers.

43. *HP*, 13: 190.

44. *HCJAP*, 1:1, 299–300, 335–44.

45. *DHJP*, 132–34.

46. *HIP*, 2: 173.

47. OM/*HP*, 1: 300; *HCJAP*, 2:1, 51–52 n. 4.

48. For these and other aristocratic recruits, some of whom played important roles in the establishment of overseas missions and colleges, see *HCJAP*, 1:1, 444–77.

At certain times during the Society's formative period, there were more recruits in the kingdom than the Jesuits were able to train. In 1546, for example, Simão Rodrigues took in thirteen applicants but rejected another 40. By 1552, scarcely eleven years after Rodrigues and Xavier first reached Lisbon, the province counted 318 members. But a crisis occurred that year when Jesuit leaders concluded that many of the recruits were unfit for their Order. Some appeared to display no disposition for learning but were inclined to leave school to engage in unauthorized pilgrimages or, in one notorious case, to streak bare-bottomed through the streets of Coimbra. Whether or not Rodrigues was responsible for the failure of discipline, that was the pretext that Loyola used to relieve his old disciple of his administrative post. Rodrigues's successors subsequently turned out between a third and a half of the province's novices.[49]

Nevertheless, within less than a decade after the great purge, the province was again burgeoning. By 1560, the Society's membership reached 350; within another fourteen years it had increased to 522. By 1579 there were 550 members, more than twice as many as in the two German provinces, and better than three times as many as in the Austrian province. By 1599 membership in the Portuguese province had grown to 591.[50] To be sure, that was far below the Society's representation in Spain, whose four provinces contained 1,747 members in 1587. Yet it must be remembered that the Spanish kingdoms' population was about six times that of Portugal.[51]

The 1599 personnel report concerning the Portuguese province discloses, not surprisingly, that most of its members came from the kingdom's capital and its two university towns. That year these cities provided 78 percent of the province's membership.[52]

## *The Problem of Motivation*

Why did men, young and old, elect to join the Society during the sixteenth century? We shall be much better informed on that intriguing question when Thomas V. Cohen publishes his massive study of the social origins of the Order's European membership during its first six decades.[53] In the meantime, thanks to his already published research, we have some idea of the motives and objectives that impelled some of the Society's sixteenth-century adherents to enter its ranks. Two quite different sources throw light upon the recruits' aspirations. One is a collection of 92 spiritual autobiographies prepared by residents of the Polish province between 1574 and 1580. These residents were asked to explain their reasons for wanting to enter the Society. Cohen ingeniously organized their responses into a topology that matches the perceived advantages of the Society with the corresponding presumed shortcomings of the external world (Table 2.1).

49. *HCJAE*, 1: 608; cf. *HCJAP*, 1:2, 137ff.

50. Statistics for the growth of the Portuguese province in these decades are available in *HCJAP*, 2:1, 3–4. The comparisons are based upon William V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1972), 71.

51. *HCJAE*, 5: 241 n. 1.

52. "Catálogo 3.º que llaman de cosas de la prou.ª de Portugal hecho en Octobre de 1599," *HCJAP*, 2:1, 531–36.

53. In 1987 I was privileged to read a draft of his book-length manuscript, which bears the working title, "Where the Jesuits Came From: A Social History of the Order in the Sixteenth Century."



TABLE 2.1

*Polish Recruits' Views of the Society and the World, from 92 Autobiographical Statements, 1574–80*

| *Perceptions of the Society of Jesus* | *Views of the world* |
|---|---|
| Harmony | Chaos |
| Restraint | Unrestricted sensuality |
| Security | Peril |
| Eternal life | Fatality |
| Love unhindered by (personal) attachments | Marriage, office, entanglements |
| Preservation from avarice and pride | Egotism |
| Renunciation | Vain ambition |

SOURCE: T. V. Cohen, "Why the Jesuits Joined, 1540–1600," in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers 1974* (Toronto, 1974), 237–59, at 242. (I have slightly modified the categories the author employed.) See text for the circumstances that led to the preparation of the autobiographies.

TABLE 2.2

*Why They Joined the Society of Jesus: Responses from 695 Jesuits in Spain and Portugal, 1561–62*

| *Motive* | *Percentage of responses* |
|---|---|
| To serve God | 38.4 |
| To leave the world | 23.9 |
| The virtues of the Society | 18.4 |
| Self-mortification | 12.7 |
| A call from God | 12.4 |
| To serve mankind | 5.3 |
| To serve in missions abroad | 1.4 |
| To die a martyr | 0.6 |
| To combat heresy | 0.3 |

SOURCE: See Table 2.1 and text.

It is clear that the Poles were attracted to the Society for the same reasons that have always drawn those who seek escape from the insecurities and imperfections of the world. They yearned to gain admittance to an organization that would provide an environment where they might live a spiritually pristine existence and avoid some of the troubling burdens of surviving in the external world.

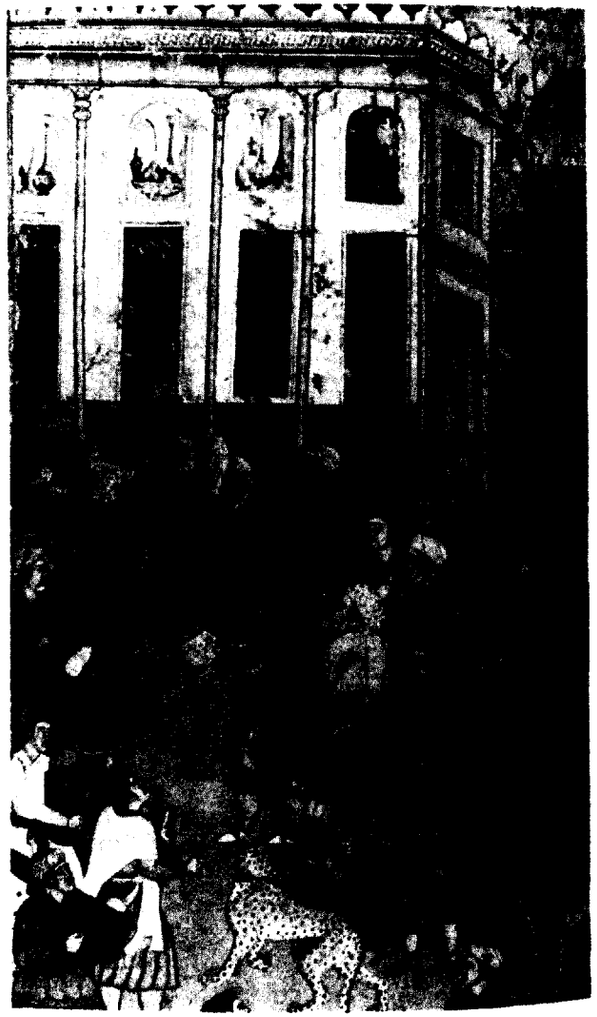
Cohen's other source, a thirty-point questionnaire that Jerónimo Nadal distributed to the Iberian provinces in 1561 and 1562, is more directly applicable to the mindset of recruits in the Iberian Peninsula during the Society's formative period. Remarkably, 695 responses to that questionnaire survive. In view of the excitement generated by the coeval material and spiritual Iberian global conquests, these responses offer some surprises. Many of these recruits sought escape from the confusions and perils of their world, but about half of them were primarily concerned about their own souls rather than the welfare of others (Table 2.2). Shockingly few aspired to become soul curers in the distant reaches of the Portuguese empire and beyond. But as the next chapter will reveal, many were destined for such service.

*

From the outset the fate of the Society in Portugal was closely related to that of the crown itself. John III and his two immediate successors more ardently supported the activities of the new Order than did the leaders of any other European government. Both the king and his brothers, especially Cardinal Henry, actively helped the Society to become established in several of the leading urban centers in the kingdom and to assume an increasingly lively role in the educational and spiritual life of the Portuguese nation. In times to come, when the crown sustained major setbacks, so did the Society, as later chapters will show. But first we shall follow the Jesuits as they expanded, with the crown's favor, to the furthest reaches of the Portuguese thalassocracy and beyond.

1. Francis Xavier (?) assesses opportunities for evangelization in the Orient. P. Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'istoria della compagnia di Giesu l'Asia*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1657–63). Courtesy of the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.

Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao* 1948: 1pt., New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, pl. X. By permission of Oxford University Press and Kluwer Academic Publishers.



3. Jesuits at the Mughal Court (early seventeenth century). India Office Library, London. By permission of the British Library.

4. Arrival of Jesuit emissaries at Luanda on the eve of Angola's liberation (1648). Ernesto de Oliveira and Jorge Tavares, *Do cativeiro a restauração (1641–1647)* (Porto, 1971), 150.

2. A Jesuit priest and a Dominican friar preparing to enter China. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao* (1948; rpr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pl. X. By permission of Oxford University Press and Kluwer Academic Publishers.

3. Jesuits at the Mughal Court (early seventeenth century). India Office Library, London. By permission of the British Library.

4. Arrival of Jesuit emissaries at Luanda on the eve of Angola's liberation (1648). Ernesto de Oliveira and Jorge Tavares, *Do cativeiro a restauração (1641–1647)* (Porto, 1971), 150.

5. The martyrdom of four Jesuits in Japan during the 1620s and 1630s. António Francisco Cardim, *Elogios e ramalhete de flores borrifado com o sangue dos religiosos da Companhia de Iesu, a quem os tyrannos do Imperio do Iappão tiranão as vidas por odio da Fé Catholica* (Lisbon, 1650). Courtesy of the Oliveira Lima Library, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

6. The *nau de provincia*, Brazil. Simão de Vasconcelos, *Chronica da companhia de Jesu do estado do Brasil* (Lisbon, 1663). Courtesy of the Oliveira Lima Library, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

PART II

# Expansion

CHAPTER 3

# Foundations of an Enterprise: The Distant Empire and Beyond, 1542–ca. 1615

May the Lord deign to send to His vineyard many such workmen that we may be ready to meet the wants . . . not . . . of Europe alone, but of Africa and Asia and India so that the whole world may be drawn to Christ Jesus, and that they may be "one fold and one shepherd."

Francisco Borgia, 1569

This land is our enterprise. . . . We are working to lay the foundations of houses which will last as long as the world endures.

Manuel da Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, 9 Aug. 1549

Preparations are . . . being made here for an enterprise that will bring great glory to God and from which it [is] hoped to reap much fruit.

Br. Luís Frois to the Fathers and Brothers in Portugal, 1 Dec. 1560

One of the primary functions of the Jesuits' educational facilities in Portugal was to train missionaries to serve overseas. They set forth confidently on what they were convinced was a divinely inspired enterprise, one that would bring the unquestioned benefits of Christianity to non-Europeans and win back to the fold wayward Christians. The strategies they pursued to attain their objectives varied from land to land. Although the Jesuits operated simultaneously in many parts of the globe, it is best to consider their activities geographically, beginning with the subcontinent of India, for it was the spiritual opportunities there that initially prompted John III to solicit Jesuit assistance.

## *Beginnings of a Thalassocracy*

Since the 1470s India had been the primary goal of the celebrated Portuguese argosies down the African littoral. By the time Vasco da Gama first arrived (1498), the subcontinent was divided, as it still is, between Muslims and Hindus, who together numbered an estimated 100 million.[1] In the Deccan, the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar, "the focus of resurgent Hindu culture," in Sastri's words, was reaching its zenith, but five Muslim sultanates, which

1. Irfan Habib, "Population," in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1982), 1: 163–71.

relentlessly fought each other as well as the Hindus, contested its hegemony. One of them, Bijapur, controlled the protected insular port of Goa, 400 kilometers south of the future city of Bombay, centrally situated along the western littoral. Further south, a number of small Hindu rajas, including the sea raja of Cochin and his bitter rival, the Zamorin of Calicut, ruled the famous Malabar pepper coast.[2]

It was the international pepper emporium of Calicut that initially attracted da Gama and his early successors. Though they failed to capture it, they successfully negotiated a trading alliance with the rival raja of Cochin, who provided them with their first operational base along the littoral. Within a generation they successfully planted a series of feitorias between the Travancore coast in the south and the Gulf of Cambay. Those defenses, supported by powerful armadas that swept Muslim warships from the seas and supplemented by the seizure of vital international trading centers, notably Ormuz (Hormuz) and Malacca (Melaka), were designed, as D. K. Bassett reminds us, "to impair Mohammedan power in the Mediterranean by diverting the commerce that sustained it from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes to the new [Cape] route which they discovered and monopolized." The Lusitanians tried to control the flow of major commodities—pepper, spices, dyestuffs, and drugs—for which there was a strong European demand that they intended to satisfy exclusively, an ambition never fulfilled.[3]

By 1530 the capital of the so-called Portuguese State (Estado) of India, which extended from the Swahili coast of Mozambique to South China, was the city of Goa, successfully captured in 1510. Goa was situated on a large triangular island, Tissuary, between the Mandovi and Zuari rivers, some 24,000 kilometers by sea from the imperial capital of Lisbon. Long the prime port of entry for the horse trade between the Persian Gulf and South India, a notable shipbuilding center, and one of the two finest harbors along the west coast of the subcontinent, Goa became the principal port as well as the administrative and ecclesiastical center of the Portuguese eastern empire.[4] In 1541 it became the destination of the first Jesuit to reach the East.

## *The Achievements of Francis Xavier*

The Jesuits were not, of course, the first Christian missionaries to reach India. According to tradition, Christianity was introduced there by St. Thomas, one of the original apostles. As early as the fifth century, there was an identifiable Christian caste living along the Malabar coast, and by the early sixteenth century, some 30,000 persons there were followers of the Syro-Chaldean rite under the spiritual aegis of priests ordained by the

2. S/*FX*, 2: 137–38; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1966), 9, 277, and 285.

3. D. K. Bassett, "European Influence in the Malay Peninsula, 1511–1786," *JMBRAS* 33, 3 (1960): 10. The Portuguese also tried to control the internal or country trade, especially near India, by means of mandatory safe-conducts (*cartazes*) purchased by non-Portuguese ships. See also Michael N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response of the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1976), 39–52.

4. For an excellent description of Goa and its environs, see S/*FX*, 2: 179–92. See also A. R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), chap. 2.



patriarch of Armenia.[5] Between the 1290s and about 1350, a succession of Franciscan and Dominican friars visited India but left no lasting impression. Beginning in 1500, Franciscan friars accompanied the annual fleets that sailed from Lisbon to the subcontinent, but the first Observant Franciscan monastery was only established in 1518. By mid-century there were others at Cranganore, Cannanore, Cochin, Goa, and Bassein. Where the Observants led, others followed—the Jesuits (1542), the Dominicans (1548), the Recollect Franciscans (1566), the Augustinians (1572), the Discalced Carmelites (1607), and several minor Orders.[6]

It was the Observants who welcomed the newcomer, Francis Xavier, the dynamic, austere, restless founder of the Society in the East, at the end of a tiring thirteen-month voyage in May 1542. The son of a noble Navarrese family, he became one of Loyola's original and most devoted disciples. Accompanied by a single priest and a brother, he traveled to the subcontinent in a warship commanded by the new governor, the redoubtable Martim Afonso de Sousa, already well known for his exploits in Indian and Brazilian waters.[7]

Xavier came vested with responsibilities not only as missions superior (later, in 1549, first provincial), but also as papal nuncio. For him, passing the Cape of Good Hope had a special meaning; he was confident that beyond it he and his successors would be able to harvest an abundance of "fruit," meaning conversions. For the ensuing decade Xavier worked ceaselessly to convert pagans and to reform old Christians. He consoled the sick and the imprisoned, remonstrated with unscrupulous royal officials, and berated and dismissed fellow Jesuits who were unable to meet his severe ethical standards. His evangelical campaigns took him three times to the Fishery, Malabar, and Travancore coasts, twice to Bassein and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), five times to Malacca, and once to Amboina (Ambon), the Moluccas (Malukas), Japan, and the outskirts of the Chinese empire. Despite innumerable adversities, he retained his optimism until his final frustrating months in Malacca and on the Cantonese island of Sancian, where, physically (and perhaps mentally) exhausted, he expired in December 1552.

In his efforts to reach both the ruling classes and the humble elements in Asian societies, Francis Xavier used many techniques that his successors would emulate and improve upon. His mass-conversion campaigns, his remarkable courage, his incredible endurance, his almost limitless capacity to withstand personal austerities, his eternal optimism, his profound sense of spirituality and personal humility, his incisive understanding of the sources of political power, and his uncompromising leadership set standards that his successors would strive to match as they pursued their destinies in theaters where he had pioneered.[8]

5. A. Mathias Mundanan, C.M.I., *The Arrival of the Portuguese in India and the Thomas Christians ... 1498–1552* (Bangalore, 1967), and idem, *Sixteenth-Century Traditions of St. Thomas Christians* (Bangalore, 1970).

6. "Mappa demonstrativo das ordens religiosas ... neste estado ... e que foram extinctas em 1835," in *Gabinete litterario das fontainhas* (Nova Goa, 1848), 119; Carlos Merces de Melo, S.J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India* (Lisbon, 1955), 45–46.

7. S/*FX*, 1: 701–3.

8. The massive four-volume life-and-times biography, S/*FX*, is a remarkable tour de force. Its author, Fr. Georg Schurhammer, devoted 60 years to the project. His matchless knowledge of his subject and his times, his commendable use of sources, and his exceptionally broad coverage make his study indispensable, despite his uniformly laudatory approach to his hero.

## *The Goan Hub*

It was Xavier who took the first steps toward the institutional establishment of the Society in the East. Just as Lisbon became the center of Jesuit activities in Portugal, so Goa became the hub of their endeavors east of the Cape of Good Hope. Their initial and most important facility in the viceregal capital was the original college of São Paulo. Its origins trace back to a unique school created to train students from various parts of Africa and Asia to serve as secular priests among the indigenous populations. Its founders included Miguel Vaz Coutinho, the vicar general, and Diogo de Borba, possibly a Franciscan priest. In 1540 the zealous vicar general launched a drastic campaign to rid Goa of all vestiges of paganism by knocking down all pagan temples (*pagodas*) and idols around Tissuary, an undertaking completed there within a year but one destined to be resumed periodically elsewhere in India and in Ceylon by the Portuguese.[9] When the job was done in Goa, Vaz, Borba, and others organized the confraternity of the Holy Faith under the protection of Saint Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of indigenous converts. With funds derived from the former temple lands, they built a church dedicated to the apostle and the seminary of the Holy Faith, which began admitting students in 1542. According to its 1546 statutes, the seminary was designed for non-Portuguese students between ages 13 and 15. Quotas were established for Indians, Kaffirs, Malays, and even Chinese. By 1548 the seminary, a prototype of today's well-known United World Colleges, housed students who spoke thirteen native languages.

Despite its promising beginning, the seminary posed a serious problem: who would be willing to administer it? The confraternity invited the Franciscans to do so, but though their commissary himself was willing, his chapter was not. The vicar general next approached the newly arrived Xavier, but he lacked sufficient personnel to assume responsibility for the school, though he promised that Jesuits would provide instruction there as soon as possible. In January 1547 both Vaz and Borba died, leaving the seminary's future in doubt. The governor, the royal secretary, and the bishop then insisted that the Jesuits fill the gap. By then Xavier possessed sufficient reinforcements to comply. Following approvals granted by Ignatius and John III, the Jesuits took formal possession of the seminary, the nucleus of the original St. Paul's college, in 1551.

Before long the college came to consist of several units. One unit was the residence, the administrative offices, and the major training facility of the Society in the East. Soon an orphanage, a catechumenate, and a novitiate were added, and a hospital was opened nearby. In time most of these facilities would be relocated in sites Jesuit leaders considered more

9. As the Romans did in Spain and the Spaniards were then doing in Mexico and Peru, the Portuguese replaced Hindu temples and Muslim mosques with their own churches. In medieval England the Venerable Bede pursued a wiser policy: he directed that pagan idols be smashed but that their temples be preserved, "for if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the service of the true God." Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 106–9. (I am indebted to Gordon Whatley for this reference.) Nationalist writers in India have long excoriated the Portuguese for the destruction of pagodas, forgetting that Muslims and Hindus have long defiled and razed their rivals' facilities too. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Culture and History of the Tamils* (Calcutta, 1946), 36; cf. S/*FX*, 2: 236, and Zahirudin Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times* (Delhi, 1972), chap. 4, esp. 113–16, 128–29, and 132–33.



suitable. The seminary of the Holy Faith, soon separated physically from the college but situated on its grounds, became the source of a serious internal conflict. That conflict arose when the college's first director, Madeiran-born António Gomes, purged all indigenous students, replacing them with the sons of Portuguese residents. His intent was to make the college an Asian replica of the University of Coimbra, but Xavier repudiated his unauthorized action, recognizing that it was in violation of the conditions under which the Society took over the seminary. He soon dismissed Fr. Gomes from the Order. Between 1556 and 1607 the student body of St. Paul's grew from 110 to over 2,000 students, by far the largest number attending any Portuguese educational facility in the empire. Three years later, however, the leaders of the Society, seeking a healthier site, opened New St. Paul's (São Paulo *o novo*) on a hill a few kilometers away from the original college, now styled São Paulo *velho*, which remained the domicile for a handful of fathers who continued to instruct in the original seminary.[10]

The Jesuits also erected two other facilities in Goa and its vicinity. For some years they had been anxious to separate the original professed house from the first college. An opportunity to do so came in 1585 when some gardens and houses confiscated from Hindus on Cock's Square were put up for sale. Friends of the fathers purchased them at the request of the provincial, Alessandro Valignano, whose role in the expansion of the Society will be considered later. Additional parcels were needed to build a new professed house, and Valignano offered to exchange certain houses that the Society possessed with the owners of those parcels. While negotiations were under way, both the Franciscans and the directors of the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Casa da Misericórdia) began to object. The Franciscans insisted that the Jesuits already had more than enough facilities in the area, whereas the directors protested that the project would interfere with their ability to collect alms in the parish. By means of a nocturnal ruse, Valignano managed to occupy the disputed lands, an action that both the viceroy and the archbishop later supported. On 13 January 1586, the archbishop himself said Mass and laid a foundation stone for what became the professed house of the Good Jesus (Bom Jesús), today the only surviving Jesuit structure in Old Goa, where it continues to be a major religious shrine because it houses the remains of Saint Francis Xavier in a sumptuous, illuminated crypt.[11]

In 1548 a protracted war between the Portuguese and the sultans of Bijapur came to an end when Sultan Adil Khan renounced "forever" his rights to the districts of Bardês, the land of twelve villages north of Goa, and Salsete, a peninsula south of the capital consisting of 60 villages.[12] Subsequently the Franciscans were assigned exclusive evangelical responsibilities in the parishes of Bardês, whereas the Jesuits, who had become active in parish duties in Goa

10. No history of these first Jesuit educational institutions in the East exists, but see Merces de Melo, *Recruitment*, 65–109, and S/*FX*, 2: 235–43, 256–57, and 3: 456–70. There are many references to them in the *DI* series, e.g., the 1597 regulations of the Holy Faith seminary, *DI*, 18: 813–26. On the number of students attending the first St. Paul's, see *DI*, 3: 483–88, and 785–91.

11. On the establishment of the professed house, see Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da companhia de Jesus da provincia de Goa* [1710], ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto, 1978), pt. 2, 999–1001, and *DI*, 14: 24* 25*. In a signed statement dated 24 Dec. 1585, the archbishop wrote that he fully approved the establishment of the professed house, which "does not prejudice anyone." ARSI, FG, 1443/9/3 and /4.

12. S/*FX*, 3: 495–96. The peninsula of Salsete should not be confused with the island of the same name north of Bombay. The Portuguese designated the latter as Salsete do Norte.

TABLE 3.1

*Expansion of the Society in the Estado da India and Beyond: Administrative Units and Their Dependencies, 1549–1607*

| | Year | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Location* | 1549 | 1559 | 1571 | 1582 | 1587 | 1601 | 1607 |
| Goa | 20 | 68[a] | 110 | 103 | 180 | 171 | 184 |
| Bassein | 2 | 10 | 18 | 36 | 13 | 23 | 24 |
| Taná | — | 5 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 16 | 14 |
| Damão | — | — | — | 5 | 5 | 8 | 8 |
| Chaul | — | — | — | — | — | — | 8 |
| Diu | — | — | — | — | 6 | 3 | 8 |
| Ormuz | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ethiopia | — | 6 | 5 | 3 | 2 | — | 5 |
| Mozambique | — | — | — | 4 | — | — | 3 |
| Mughal Court | — | — | — | 3 | — | 4 | 4 |
| Cochin | 0 | 7 | 15 | — | 22 | 35 | 60 |
| Cranganore | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Travancore coast | 1 | 3 | 6 | — | 8 | 8 | 12 |
| Fishery Coast[b] | 7 | 6 | 13 | — | 20 | — | 37 |
| Colombo | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Malacca | 3 | 5 | 5 | — | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| The Moluccas | 8 | 5 | 14 | — | 10 | — | 6 |
| Japan | 3 | 8 | 13 | — | 94 | — | 140 |
| China | 0 | 0 | 4 | 11 | 11 | — | 17[c] |
| Total | 45 | 126 | 210 | 167 | 387 | 276 | 559 |

SOURCES: 1549: *DI*, 1: 517–23. 1559: *DI*, 4: 301–5. 1571: *DI*, 8: 414–18. 1582: *DI*, 12: 602–26. *MHJ*, 150–52. 1587: *DI*, 14: 788–800, *MHJ*, 216–23. 1601: *RAGJ*, vol. 1, passim. 1607: *RAGJ*, vol. 3, passim.

[a] Source lists 68 names but reports a total of 71 persons without explanation.

[b] Depending upon time, includes missions (later colleges) at São Tomé de Meliapor, Manar Island, Madura, and Bengal.

[c] Does not include college at Macao.

and in the nearby islands of Juá, Divar, and Chorão, were awarded exclusive spiritual duties in the peninsula.[13] The first Jesuits entered Salsete in 1560; among their successors were Thomas Stephens, the first English-born Jesuit in India and the author or coauthor of the first published Konkani grammar, and Rudolfo Aquaviva, nephew of the fifth father general and leader of the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal court (see below), who was martyred in Salsete in 1583.[14]

The next Jesuit college, that of Salsete, was one of the fruits of another round of Lusitanian temple destruction in 1567, for the king assigned income from the confiscated properties to the fathers to erect another such facility. First built in 1574 at Margão, the "village of the devils," the college was burned to the ground by Muslims in 1579. The next year it was relocated in Rachol, 6 kilometers distant, under the protection of a fortress. In

13. Anthony D'Costa, S.J., *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands* (Bombay, 1965).

14. Much has been written about Fr. Stephens (b. 1549 d. 1619), including J. Courtenay Locke, *The First Englishman in India* (London, 1930). See also *DI*, 11: 27*, 682–90 (a famous letter from Stephens to his father), as well as *DI*, 12: 903–4 and 918–32, and 17 and 18, passim. J. Stephen Narayan, *Aquaviva and the Great Mogul* (Patna, 1975), is an uncritical biography. See also *JSM*, 229–37.



1597 it was shifted back to Margão but was again destroyed in 1606, when it was definitively returned to Rachol, where it still exists as a center for the training of secular priests.[15] Highly respected for the quality of its instruction, which included language training in the local tongue, Konkani, the college also served as the administrative center for the Jesuit-supervised parishes in Salsete.[16]

For more than two centuries, Goa remained the major training center for Jesuits received and educated in the Far East and the principal reception center for partially prepared recruits arriving from Europe. The latter, for reasons discussed in a later chapter, far outnumbered the former. Xavier and his successors constantly pleaded for more hands, and Simão Rodrigues and those who succeeded him at home responded as promptly and as generously as their means permitted. The number of Jesuits sent from Europe to India increased decade by decade from the 1540s until the late 1620s: 26 arrived during the 1540s; more than 50 did so during the 1560s; 90 or more reached Goa during each of the remaining decades of the century; and even larger numbers were recorded for the first three decades of the next century. In 1575, 43 Jesuits arrived, a record for a single year not surpassed until 1602, when 62 recruits made the long voyage safely.[17] Many of those recruits remained in greater Goa for a significant time, but others were soon assigned to the Society's installations elsewhere in the subcontinent and beyond (see Table 3.1).

## *The Northern and Southern Spokes*

Beginning during Xavier's regime, Jesuits began to radiate from Goa to establish other installations northward, between Chaul and Diu, and southward, from Cochin via Cape Comorin to São Tomé de Meliapor, today a suburb of Madras.[18] The first and most important center in the north was the city of Bassein, located on a projecting point of land partially surrounded by sea and swamps, north of the island of Bombay. The Portuguese mastered the city and its environs in 1534 and two years later erected their famous fortress there. In 1548 Xavier visited the city for the first time and discovered that a group of Recollects had founded a college there the previous year. The institution was struggling, not because of a lack of funding, for the king had already agreed to assign it revenues derived from former mosques, but because of a scarcity of personnel: one Franciscan had

15. At various times the college was called the college of Salsete, Espírito Santo, Todos os Santos, and Santo Ignácio, but in Jesuit documents it is usually termed the college of Rachol and will be so identified in this study.

16. For the origins and development of the college, see Sousa, *Oriente conquistado*, 819, 886–87; Merces de Melo, *Recruitment*, 181–84; and *DI*, 9: 335–43; 11: 276; and 17: 9*. The Konkani language center was one of several language schools that the Society maintained in India during the late sixteenth century. Another at Pulicat on the Fishery Coast provided instruction in Tamil and a third at Bassein offered Gujarati. *VMP*, 1: 156ff.

17. *IJI*, 269–93.

18. Alessandro Valignano, "Sumario de las cosas que pertencen a la provincia de la Yndia Oriental e al govierno della," in António da Silva Rego, comp., *Documentos para a historia da igreja em portuguesa oriente*, vol. 12 (Lisbon, 1958), 470–638, is especially helpful in determining the locations and chronologies of other early Jesuit facilities in India. This so-called "Indian Summary" went through several revisions between 1579 and 1583. *VMP*, 122–23. See also *DI*, 5: 164–88.

already died, and three others had decided to return to Portugal, leaving only two friars. One of the two urged Xavier to assume responsibility for the college, and the same year Xavier dispatched one of his lieutenants to supervise the school's activities. Subsequently, however, Franciscan reinforcements arrived in Goa, and their superior insisted that they would run the college. A compromise was reached: the Franciscans regained control of their college but agreed to split its income with the Jesuits. With additional funding provided by the crown, the Jesuits then purchased land for their own college in late 1559. They also obtained title to property within the town of Tanà on Salsete Island (Salsete do Norte), nearly 20 kilometers south. There they constructed a large church and a grammar school for local boys. The latter became a *collegium inchoatum* (an incipient college) but was long one of Bassein's dependencies, as were another station at Bandorà (Bandra) and several nearby missions.[19]

The Society also gained three other facilities within or close to the Bay of Cambay, a densely populated, thriving textile, indigo, and commercial region of northwestern India. One facility was at Damão, 160 kilometers north of Bombay at the mouth of the Damagana River. The Portuguese annexed the port in 1559. A Jesuit mission soon followed, and in 1581 their college of the 11,000 Virgins, usually called the college of Damão, was opened there.[20] Between Bassein and Damão lay the harbor of Chaul, the chief port of the sultanate of Ahmadnagar, some 50 kilometers south of Bombay. In 1580 a Jesuit residence there was upgraded to a college.[21] The third of the Cambian outposts was situated at Diu, locus of the great Portuguese naval victory over the Turks (1509) and for a time during the sixteenth century a serious rival of Surat in the race to capture the trade of the declining port of Cambay.[22] Situated on an island off the Kathiawar Peninsula, Diu was strategically placed to monitor coast-hugging vessels traveling between the Gulf of Cambay, Ormuz, and Aden, and it survived two bitterly contested sieges (1538 and 1546). Xavier longed to send missionaries there, but none were permanently stationed at the fortress until 1600.[23]

The upper limit of the southern spoke was the insular city of Cochin, 160 kilometers south of Goa, situated in the midst of the labyrinthine littoral of the Malabar coast.[24] Cochin became the initial center of the Portuguese eastern empire, and it remained the second most important city long after the capital was shifted to Goa. Xavier stayed there on several occasions and initiated the dedicated, protracted, only partially successful Jesuit efforts to win over to orthodox Christianity both the raja and the Thomas Christians who lived along the coast. The college of Cochin (Madre de Deus), which also served as the regional administrative center for the Malabar, Travancore, and Coromandel coasts, was founded in

19. On the beginnings of these units, see S/*FX*, 3: 410; 4: 372–75; *DI*, 1: 417; 4: 714; 8: 119–20; and Sousa, *Oriente conquistado*, 81–82.

20. Sousa, *Oriente conquistado*, 142–44.

21. Ibid., 944–46.

22. Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700–1750* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 2–3. For an excellent account of Portuguese efforts to wrest Diu from the Gujarati, see Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers*, map facing p. 58, and 68–82.

23. S/*FX*, 3: 587; *RACJ*, 1: 3.

24. See the map in S/*FX*, 2: 464.



1551 and thereafter flourished for some decades.[25] Several residences, which served as bases of operations for various priests who worked among the coastal and foothill communities, were also part of the college's responsibilities. One of the most important was the residence of Vaipicota (Vaipikotta) near Cranganore. During the 1570s and 1580s Jesuit authorities hoped to establish a seminary there in order to train young Thomas Christians to serve as priests, but the Franciscans opposed their plans, even though their own monastery at Cranganore did not attempt to minister to such people. Eventually the Jesuits secured the support of the presiding viceroy, and their seminary, offering instruction in Latin, Malayali, and Syrian, was opened in 1588.[26]

The peninsular town of Quilon, known to the Portuguese as Coulão, is situated 126 kilometers south of Cochin. It marks the northern boundary of the dry Travancore coast and was the site of a Portuguese feitoria. Xavier visited the coast more than once, and in 1552 the Jesuits established a grammar school there to accommodate 50 young men. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the small Jesuit contingent posted there serviced 35 churches along the littoral and another seven inland.[27]

The Travancore coast ends at Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. Eastward lies the famous Fishery Coast. Extending for some 330 kilometers as far as the island of Manar, just off the Sinhalese littoral, the Fishery Coast was the home of Tamil-speaking Parava fishers who lived in villages scattered from the seacoast to a distance of more than 20 kilometers inland. The more affluent among them owned their own boats, fields of cotton, and a few fan palms, but the majority possessed little more than fishing nets and elementary catamarans. The Paravas were skilled divers, and the pearls they extracted were the most highly prized among those taken in eastern waters. But Hindu rulers who resided inland laid claim to the oyster beds and demanded tribute from the fishers, as did the more recently arrived Muslim intruders. Not to be outdone, the Portuguese themselves began to tax the fishers in 1524, igniting a furious conflict with the Muslims that dragged on for fourteen years. Caught in a three-way squeeze, the Paravas agreed to convert en masse to Christianity in the mid-1530s, provided that the Portuguese protected them from their rivals.[28]

Although thousands of Paravas reputedly accepted the new faith immediately, Xavier, who first worked along the coast in 1542–43 and returned on occasion to evangelize there, discovered that none of the secular priests knew Tamil and that the fishermen had no real understanding of the meaning of Christianity. Accordingly, he drafted a rough translation of the catechism, the creed, and the commandments and explained them to his hearers, summoned by his famous bell to his makeshift altar. When Xavier, whom the Paravas called "the great father," had successfully indoctrinated a village, he would persuade its occupants to level their temples and smash their images.[29]

Xavier is credited with thousands of conversions along the coast, but he never remained long enough to sustain the neophytes in their new faith. That became the responsibility

25. S/*FX*, 2: 289–90, 419, 493–94; *DI*, 17:12*–13*. K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese* (Bombay, 1929), is hostile and superficial. Although deplorably organized, F/*JM* is indispensable.

26. *DI*, 14: 28*–31*, and documents cited there.

27. Ibid., 2: 1*–2* and 379; 5: 184–86. See also the inset map in S/*FX*, 2: 464, and *RACJ*, 1: 328–39.

28. S/*FX*, 2: 256–67, 306, and 311–21.

29. Ibid., 2: 308–10, 321–43, 406–8, 470–71, 534–35, and 641–42.

of a handful of secular priests and small groups of Jesuits who labored tirelessly along the coast at great risk to their own lives. Their adversaries included not only the resentful Hindu and Muslim leaders but also greedy Portuguese captains.[30] The first of many Jesuit martyrs on that coast, António Criminale, died as a consequence of the unscrupulous behavior of one such captain. Ordained at Coimbra in 1544, Fr. Criminale sailed for Goa the following year and was named missions superior on the coast in 1547, a responsibility that he met by working continuously, traveling barefooted, sleeping on the ground, and eating simple fare. While he was ministering to a group of fishermen, a Portuguese captain provoked an uprising by erecting a fortified toll station nearby to prey upon pilgrims. The Brahmans complained to their local lord, who responded by sending multitudes of Telugs to expel the Portuguese, causing many of the fishermen and their families to flee to their boats. Fr. António attended the panic-stricken neophytes as long as he could; then, in classic style, he faced his attackers, knelt down, raised his hands toward heaven, and was dispatched.[31]

Criminale's successor, Henrique Henriques (b. 1520 d. 1600), had a quite different impact upon the coast and, indeed, upon Jesuits throughout India. He was born in east-central Portugal in the town of Vila Viçosa, and his ancestors were conversos of either Jewish or Muslim origin, a stain that caused his dismissal from the Franciscan Order. While studying canon law at Coimbra, he came to the attention of Simão Rodrigues, who, surprisingly, admitted him to the Society and sent him as an ordained priest to Xavier. From 1547 until his death, Henriques served along the Fishery Coast, where he stoically survived years of physical disorders, occasional volleys of arrows, and a harrowing capture by hostile tribesmen. In 1551 he founded two hospitals at Pulicat, but one of his major achievements was the construction of the first European grammar in any Indian language—the famous Tamil grammar—completed by 1549 but revised by Henriques until 1566. He later roughed out a Konkani grammar as well, and it became one of the sources that Thomas Stephens consulted for his improved text, published in 1640. Henriques also published several works in Tamil, including a translation of the famous *Flos sanctorum*, the lives of the saints.[32]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Fishery Coast became one of their major successes in India, the Jesuits never managed to have more than a score of missionaries available to cover the coast, the island of Manar, and the adjacent Coromandel littoral during the remainder of the sixteenth century. More than once superiors complained that "the harvest

30. The beginnings of persisting conflict between the Jesuits and the captains may be seen in *S/FX*, 3: 447–48, 519–20, and 4: 353.

31. *DI*, 1: 486–89, 590–93; Sousa, *Oriente conquistado*, 248–56; *S/FX*, 3: 364–67, 4: 361–66.

32. António Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da companhia de Jesus no real collegio de Jesus de Coimbra em Portugal*, 2 vols. (Évora and Coimbra, 1719), 1: 523–36; *S/FX*, 3: 711 and 4: 700–701 (s.v. "Henriques, Henrique"). There have been several illuminating modern studies of this remarkable missionary, notably Josef Wicki, S.J., "Father Henrique Henriques, S.J. (1520–1600)," *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies* 4 (1965): 142–56; 5 (1966): 36–72, and 175–89; idem, "The Confraternity of Charity of Henry Henriques," *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967): 3–8; and Jeanne H. Hein's outstanding essay, "Father Henriques' Grammar of Spoken Tamil, 1548," *Indian Church History Review* 11, 2 (Aug. 1977): 127–57. Henriques' pioneering Konkani grammar is discussed in Hein, "Language Encounter in 16th Century Goa," Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History, a working paper Mrs. Hein kindly sent me. She is preparing for publication a critical edition of his Tamil grammar.



is abundant, but the laborers are few," and lamented that serving there was no longer as appealing to zealous younger missionaries as it once had been because the coast had become a dumping ground for troublesome members of the Society threatened with dismissal.[33] Around 1600 there were about twenty Jesuits along the coast, some attached to small so-called colleges at Tuticorin in the southeast, others at São Tomé and Pulicat in the northeast. Still others resided on Manar or cared for one of the Society's 22 parishes, of which six were in the interior, most notably their residence in the important religious city of Madura (Madurai), where the controversial Roberto de Nobili would later flourish (see Chapter 6).[34]

## *Jesuits Reach the Mughal Court*

With one exception, the Jesuits devoted most of their attention during the formative period of their enterprise to the dissemination of Christianity among the populations of the Indian littoral. The exception was the court of the Mughals, the dominant political force in northern India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the reign of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar (1556–1605), Mughal rule extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, from Kabul in the north to the Tapti River in the south. It was while the emperor was besieging the port of Surat in 1573 that the first Jesuits visited Akbar. The Portuguese wanted the port themselves but, impressed by Akbar's strength, they quickly withdrew and contented themselves with detailing a diplomatic mission to the Muslim ruler, who thereby gained his first real knowledge of the Portuguese. Six years later he responded by dispatching an embassy to Goa with letters to the viceroy, the archbishop, and the Jesuit provincial, whom he called upon to send him a delegation to explain the doctrines of Christianity. Although Portuguese authorities feared that the fathers might become hostages, they were eager to undertake the mission. Their first contingent left Goa for Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's capital, in November 1579.

As one recent scholar has astutely observed, the participants in this mission were all non-Portuguese, seemingly selected to avoid giving Akbar offense. Their leader was 29-year-old Rudolfo Aquaviva, son of the duke of Atri and nephew of the Society's fifth father general. He was accompanied by Fr. António de Monserrate, a Catalan who became the main chronicler of the mission, and Francisco Henriques, a Persian convert from Ormuz, chosen because of his linguistic knowledge. There were obvious political and religious motives behind this mission and its successors. The Jesuits naturally hoped to achieve a major coup—the conversion of the most powerful ruler on the subcontinent. Akbar, eclectic in his religious interests and formally uncommitted to any faith, appears to have been genuinely curious about aspects of Christianity that he might adapt to his own empire. Both Portuguese and Mughal authorities were keen for intelligence that their emissaries could gather in their rivals' capitals.

The mission began with great expectations but ended in disappointment. The Jesuits brought the Great Mughal impressive gifts, including a copy of a large ninth-century

33. *DI*, 14: 272–74, 305, 361–63, and 419–20; and especially 15: 72–82, an excellent 1588 report concerning Jesuit activities and problems along the coast.

34. *RAC7*, 1: 31.

Madonna painting and a nearly complete set of the illustrated eight-volume Antwerp Polyglot Bible, commissioned by Philip II of Spain and published between 1568 and 1572. Akbar was exceedingly cordial to the fathers and permitted them the freedom of his court and an opportunity to instruct his son in the Portuguese language. He actively participated in their frequent disputations with his mullas and may (or may not) have favored the proposal that someone—the sources are unclear who—made that the validity of their respective religions be determined via an ordeal by fire. But he never gave any sign of being willing to adopt Christianity, and after a year the mission began to disband.[35]

The Jesuits undertook two additional missions to the Mughal court during the remainder of the century. The first (1590) was abruptly aborted, but the second began in 1595. It was led by Jerónimo Xavier (b. 1549–d. 1617), grandnephew of the founder of the Indian mission field, who spent twenty years at the Mughal court. If he did not succeed in winning over Akbar's son and heir, Jahangir (1605–27), who was no more than amused by any religion, at least he secured a permanent footing for the Society at Agra and Lahore, where a small number of Jesuits (usually two to six) maintained schools, ministered to small but devoted congregations for a century and a half, and kept Goan authorities informed concerning the Mughal's moods, intentions, and military operations that might concern the Portuguese.[36]

## *The Western Spokes*

Just as Portugal served as the assembly point for Jesuits bound for the State of India, so India, especially Goa, became the springboard for Jesuit activities beyond the subcontinent in both the Far West and the Far East. In the long run, those in the Far West proved to be the least successful. This was true, for example, of the Jesuits who for a time served in the insular outpost of Ormuz in the narrow entrance to the Persian Gulf some 2,400 kilometers northwest of Goa. Captured by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1515, that rocky, desiccated island not only was a major emporium for the exchange of European silver and manufactures, Arabian horses, Persian carpets and silks, Indian cottons, Southeast Asian spices and drugs, and Chinese porcelain, but also was a center of clandestine arms traffic and a toll-collection point for Mecca-bound Muslims. Its population, estimated at about 40,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, consisted of Hindus from Sind and the

35. John Correia-Afonso, S.J., trans. and ed., *Letters from the Mughal Court: The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar (1580–1583)* (Bombay, 1980). See also C. H. Payne, trans. and ed., *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions ... by Pierre du Jarric, S.J.* (New York, 1926); Ashirbadilal Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, 3 vols. (Agra, 1962), 1: 251–62; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign with Special Reference to Abu'l Fazl (1556–1605)* (New Delhi, 1975), 131–37; Edward R. Hambye, S.J., "The First Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar," in Christian W. Troll, ed., *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries* (New Delhi, 1982), 3 13; and Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in Troll, ed., *Islam in India* (1982), 14–29.

36. Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), remains unsurpassed; see also C. H. Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (London, 1930), and H. Hosten, S.J., "List of Jesuit Missionaries in 'Mogor' 1580–1803," Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, *Journal and Proceedings*, n.s. 6 (1910): 527–42.



Cambay ports, Persians, Jews, and a few hundred Portuguese.[37] Famed for its immorality as well as its wealth, Ormuz ranked high on Xavier's list of places needing spiritual attention, but when Japan called, he sent in his stead a humble but determined Hollander, Gaspar Barzaeus.[38]

Barzaeus reached Ormuz in June 1549, after a difficult two-month sea voyage. Despite initial taunting by hostile Muslims, he quickly awakened the community through his fiery sermons, whose effect was strengthened by a series of earthquakes and aftershocks that terrified both Christians and Muslims. Within a short time, this pioneer Jesuit became a popular preacher and confessor, not only among civilians but also among soldiers, who vowed not to go into battle unless he was with them. By the time Barzaeus was recalled to Goa (in September 1551) to assume new duties, he had become so popular that he had to embark secretly to avoid causing a riot.[39]

The Society maintained a residence at Ormuz for the next three decades. Usually it was staffed by one or two fathers—in 1571 there were as many as five—but in some years there were none. In 1576 the Society's leaders in India recommended the mission's abandonment because of persisting Muslim hostility. Accordingly, in 1580 the Jesuit residence was turned over to Augustinians.[40]

Farther west, in the highlands beyond the Horn of Africa, lay a land where prospects for proselytism seemed far greater than at Ormuz. The ancient kingdom of Ethiopia appeared for a time to welcome the Portuguese and to be ready to abandon its schismatic traditions, dating from the fourth century A.D., and to recognize the authority of Rome instead of that of the See of Alexandria. At least that is what Portuguese sojourners there believed. In fact, Ethiopian rulers admired certain aspects of Western culture and wanted Western arms to defend their homeland against the Ottoman Turks. Following their capture of Mameluke Egypt (1517), the Turks advanced along the flanks of the Red Sea and encouraged local Muslim populations there to rebel against the Ethiopian emperor.[41]

The first Jesuits to visit the Abyssinian highlands went at the behest of both Lisbon and Rome in the mid-1550s. Their leader was João Nunes Barreto, who had previously served for six years in North Africa redeeming Christian captives.[42] Fr. Barreto bore the title of patriarch and was accompanied by two Jesuit bishops, André de Oviedo and Melchior Miguel Carneiro.[43] Their assignment was to persuade the king, Galawadewos or Claudius (1540–59), to forsake the spiritual aegis of Alexandria for that of Rome. But

37. The economic role of Ormuz forms the centerpiece of Niels Steensgaard's masterly study, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago, 1973). See esp. 193–208 there.

38. For his background, see S/*FX*, 3: 496–98.

39. S/*FX*, 4: 375–403, 483–84.

40. *DI*, 10: 621.

41. Despite its age, A. H. M. Jones and Elizabeth Monroe, *A History of Abyssinia* (1935; rpr., New York, 1969), remains serviceable. See also Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea* (London, 1980); and Robert L. Hess, *Ethiopia: The Modernization of Autocracy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970). The approach of Charles F. Rey, *The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia* (1929; rpr., New York, 1969), is indicated by its title.

42. Franco, *Coimbra*, 1: 243–61; *HIP*, 2: 694.

43. For a brief biography of Fr. Oviedo, see *JSM*, 209–11; on Fr. Carneiro, there is a brief essay by the prolific Fr. Manoel Teixeira, "Melchior Carneiro, S.J., bispo de Nicea e coadjutor do patriarca da Etiópia (1555 1566), delegado na China e no Japão (1566–1583)," *Boletim eclesiástico de Macao* (Jan.–June 1940): 227–33.

by the time the team reached Goa in 1557, it was apparent both to viceregal authorities and to Jesuit leaders that the ruler was faced with such serious internal problems that he could not have directed his clergy to abandon Alexandria even if he had wanted to do so. Consequently, Fr. Barreto remained in India while Bishop Oviedo led the first Jesuit mission to Ethiopia in 1557. Because of the Ethiopian king's death in battle two years later, the mission failed, although Fr. Oviedo, designated patriarch in 1560, remained there until his death in 1577 with a handful of colleagues who were scattered through the highlands attending primarily to the needs of about 1,000 Luso-Ethiopians. By the 1570s only two fathers remained but they were able neither to communicate regularly with the outside, nor to receive reinforcements, nor leave.[44] By the 1590s, the last members of this first Jesuit mission had died; but the Jesuits did not give up, and they later dispatched further missions to the highlands, where, for a brief time, the long-anticipated unification of the land of Prester John with the Eternal City seemed to be a real possibility (see Chapter 6).

The third and last western outpost of the Society, Mozambique, also proved disappointing to Jesuit leaders during the formative period of the enterprise. When Vasco da Gama first visited the Swahili coast in 1498, he found that a series of insular Arab city-states, including Sofala, Mozambique, Mombasa, Malindi, Kilwa, and Zanzibar, dominated its trade. By means of superior naval power, a series of alliances, and the erection of feitorias at Sofala and Mozambique Island, the Portuguese gradually subjugated or destroyed those communities during the next three decades.[45] The Lusitanians made no immediate effort to settle the vast interior of the adjacent mainland, although informal settlements consisting of shipwrecked sailors, deserting soldiers, and banished convicts began to appear along the Zambesi River by the 1530s.[46]

The first Jesuit mission to Mozambique arrived in 1560. That year three fathers, led by Gonçalo da Silveira, a former provincial and son of a count, sailed from Chaul to Mozambique, where they began to evangelize near Inhambane, south of Sofala. Encouraged by their early success, the fathers decided to ascend the great river. As they proceeded, Fr. Silveira set off alone for the land of the Mwene Mutapa, some two weeks by canoe beyond the upriver center of Tete. He succeeded in converting the ruler and several hundred of his tribesmen, but after someone—supposedly a Muslim—convinced the Mwene Mutapa that the Jesuit was actually a spy who intended to lead a Portuguese army to conquer their gold-yielding kingdom, Gonçalo da Silveira was strangled. A year later, his two former comrades returned to India.

Whether Fr. Silveira was, in fact, martyred at the instigation of a Muslim trader remains uncertain, but that was the story accepted in Lisbon, where vengeance was demanded. It was not forthcoming for nearly a decade, when it took the form of an expedition headed in 1569 by Francisco Barreto, former governor of India and later general of the galleys of the kingdom. Barreto sailed from Lisbon that year with a large force that included four

44. Valignano, "Sumario," 544–46, and *DI*, 14: 35*, and documents cited there.

45. Alexandre Lobato, *A expançâo portuguesa em Moçambique de 1498 a 1530*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1954–60); Eric Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488–1600* (Johannesburg, 1973).

46. M[alyn] D. D. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi: Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa* (New York, 1973), 36.



Jesuits. His intent was to expel the Muslims from east-central Africa and to seize the gold mines of the Mwene Mutapa. Because of a grievous illness that afflicted everyone, including the fathers, as they ascended the Zambesi, Barreto did not fully achieve his objectives. Nevertheless, every Muslim the expedition captured was slaughtered. As Malyn Newitt has written, "For the greater glory of God some fifty . . . were impaled, blown from mortars, torn apart on tree-trunks, axed, or shot."[47] Two Jesuits perished during this bloody anabasis; the other two departed for Goa in 1574, the last members of their Order to visit Mozambique during the sixteenth century.[48]

## *Alessandro Valignano Turns the Society Eastward*

It is clear that Jesuit efforts to establish flourishing enterprises west of India failed during the sixteenth century. That was no surprise to the man most responsible for shaping Jesuit enterprises in the East following Xavier's demise. Alessandro Valignano (b. 1539–d. 1606) was born in Chieti in the Abruzzi region of the kingdom of Naples. He came from a distinguished family that enjoyed close relations with the future Pope Paul IV, once a cardinal-bishop in Chieti. Valignano studied law at Padua, where he obtained his doctorate at age 19. Tonsured in the cathedral of Chieti in 1557, he traveled to Rome hoping to gain preferment from Paul IV. That ambition was dashed when the pope suddenly died. In 1561 Valignano returned to Padua for further legal studies, but the next year he was arrested after an altercation with a young woman, whose face he had slashed with a knife. For a time he was imprisoned in Venice. He was released through the intervention of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, who may have been the same dignitary who then secured for him an administrative position in Rome. But Valignano did not retain the position for long. In mid-1566 he entered the Society. Four years later he was ordained and served briefly as master of novices in the Roman College before becoming rector of the college of Macarata. In August 1573 he was summoned back to Rome by Father General Mercurian, who appointed him chief administrative inspector (Visitor) to the province of India. Early the following month, Valignano made his profession of four solemn vows before Mercurian; 363 days later he was in Goa.[49]

Valignano spent the remainder of his energetic life in the East, not as a devoted missionary like Xavier, but as a forceful, talented, hard-working administrator. Like Xavier, he traveled frequently, especially between India and his beloved Japan. He wrote voluminously, not only perceptive, detailed administrative reports but also lengthy treatises on the condition of both the Church and the State in the East.[50]

47. Ibid., 41.

48. Axelson, *Portuguese*, 152–64; William Francis Rea, S.J., *The Economics of the Zambezi Missions, 1580–1759* (Rome, 1976), 44–45; Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., "Os Jesuítas portugueses na Africa Oriental (1560–1759)," *Brotéria* 3 (Sept. 1926): 118–22; but see esp. António da Silva, S.J., *Mentalidade missiológica dos Jesuítas em Moçambique antes de 1759*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1967).

49. Valignano's background is summarized by Paul A. Rule, "K'ung-Tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism," Ph.D. diss., Australian National University, 1972, 56ff., and in *VMP*, 1: 30–39.

50. Many of his writings have disappeared, but the late and assiduous Fr. Schütte identified 428 items that survived. *VMP*, 1: 401–28.

One of the most impressive of Valignano's treatises is his famous "Indian Summary." In December 1575 he called to the island of Chorão near Goa a gathering of leading Jesuits, including the rectors of Bassein, Goa, and Salsete and old hands like Henrique Henriques, to advise him on what long-range policies the Society ought to pursue in the East.[51] After hearing their opinions, reading the reports of missionaries returning to Goa from all parts of the Estado, and reflecting upon his own travels between Mozambique and Malacca, Valignano drew up a lengthy report to the Roman headquarters on the status of the Society. In this report, composed and revised between 1577 and 1583, he reviewed the status of the Society in each area, emphasizing its problems and suggesting how they might best be resolved.[52] He candidly admitted that despite the efforts of more than four decades, the results of the mission did not match the expectations of the 1540s. Thousands had indeed been converted, but millions remained ignorant of the true faith, and although a few rulers, such as the king of the Maldives, had been won over, no major pagan ruler had yet been converted. Did the fault lie with the Jesuits themselves—their lack of sufficient talent or zeal or their pursuit of defective strategies? Or had the crown failed to respond adequately to the missionaries' needs? Valignano left no doubt that he considered the Society's limited achievements to be the results of misapplied resources. If he considered the African peoples to be

> a very untalented race . . . incapable of grasping our holy religion or practicing it [and] because of their naturally low intelligence unable to rise above the level of the senses [since] they lack any culture and are given to savage ways and vices, and as a consequence . . . live like brute beasts,

he found the Indians little better:

> A trait common to all these peoples (I am not speaking now of the so-called white races of China or Japan) is a lack of distinction and talent. As Aristotle would say, they are born to serve rather than to command. They are miserable and poor beyond measure and are given to low and mean tasks. Many . . . are very poor, but even the rich tradesmen have to hide their wealth from their tyrannical rulers. They go half-naked and live unpretentiously. More, they are all of a very low standard of intelligence.[53]

For Alessandro Valignano, the Italian-born aristocrat who reflected the conceits and prejudices of Europeans of his status and time, the obvious remedy was for his Society to concentrate upon the so-called "white" peoples of the East, and that meant finding effective means to reach the rulers and masses of Japan and China.

51. Ibid., 1: 122–23.
52. *DI*, 10: 228–315.
53. *VMP*, 1: 131–33.



## *The First Eastern Spokes: Malacca and the Moluccas*

As Xavier had before him, Valignano recognized Malacca, the crossroads of the monsoons, as an important stepping-stone to East Asia. Its capture in 1511 was one of Albuquerque's most celebrated achievements. At its peak during the sixteenth century, the city's inhabitants numbered some 40,000; another 150,000 resided within a radius of 60 kilometers. The emporium's diverse population included Malays, Persians, Arabs, Gujaratis, Tamils, Bengalis, Javanese, Chinese, and a small but powerful Portuguese minority.[54]

According to Fr. Schurhammer, in sixteenth-century Malacca, "The two reigning divinities . . . were Mammon and lasciviousness."[55] When Xavier first visited there during the last quarter of 1545, he undertook the same remedies that he had employed in India, but he soon moved on to more fertile ground. Three years later he sent two of his lieutenants to open a house in that vital port, and the same year the bishop of Goa assigned the Society a small church there. The number of Jesuits residing in the entrepôt varied from none (in 1552, the year Xavier's body was temporarily interred there) to nine in 1576, but construction of the college that Xavier had planned was delayed for decades.[56]

Valignano was determined to establish that college. Even as he sailed from Italy to Portugal en route to the East in 1573, its founding was on his mind. He wrote Mercurian that a seminary in Malacca could serve as the headquarters for all of the Society's enterprises in East Asia. He discussed his plan with Portugal's King Sebastian and his uncle, Cardinal Henry, and the king offered to build a facility adequate for 60 to 70 residents.[57] But the Chorão conference (1575) recommended against such a grandiose structure because the Portuguese community in Malacca was small (it rarely exceeded 600 persons) and prospects for conversions among the predominately Muslim population were, as always, meager. In addition, Valignano's advisors pointed out that the city, dependent as it was upon external food supplies, was a notoriously expensive community, especially during its frequent sieges.[58]

54. Malacca lies at the meeting of the Northeast Monsoon from the China Sea and the Southwest Monsoon from the Indian Ocean. See the map in N. J. Ryan, *A History of Malaysia and Singapore* (New York, 1976), 19. For its evolution, see ibid., 15–38, and M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1630* (The Hague, 1962), chaps. 2–4; Kernial Singh Sandhu, *Early Malaysia* (Singapore, 1973), 50–61; and C. W. Wake, "Melaka in the Fifteenth Century: Malay Historical Traditions and the Politics of Islamization," in Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, eds., *Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400–1980*, 2 vols. (Kuala Lumpur, 1983), 1: 128–61. Older but still useful is John Bastin and Robin W. Winks, eds., *Malaya: Selected Historical Readings* (New York, 1966).

55. S/*EX*, 3: 21–22. Easily the best analysis of Portuguese Malacca is I. A. Macgregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya," *JMBRAS* 38, 2 (May 1955): 4–47. See also Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade*, chap. 7, and Ryan, *A History*, chaps. 3–4.

56. S/*EX*, 3: 15–30, 420–24. See also R. Cardon, "The Portuguese Church of St. Paul," *JMBRAS* 12, 2 (1934): 38–43; Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "The Church of St. Paul, Malacca," *JMBRAS* 12, 2 (1934): 40–43; Lawrence A. Noonan, "The First Jesuit Mission in Malacca . . . 1545 to 1552," *Studia*, no. 36 (1973): 391–457, and no. 37 (1974): 317–85; and Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore (1511–1958)*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1961–63), vol. 1.

57. Valignano to Mercurian, Valencia, 16 Nov. 1573; Jerónimo Cotta to Mercurian, Santo Antão, 31 Dec. 1573, in *DI*, 9: 22, 48–49.

58. *DI*, 10: 292–93. Malacca underwent 25 sieges during the Portuguese regime, including five between 1551 and 1575. *DI*, 10: 394 n. 24. For a recent study of the consequences of one of those episodes, see

After the Visitor heard his confreres' reservations, he ordered the construction of a modest college, even though he recognized that the king's promised stipends would not cover a third of its running expenses. Construction of the Jesuits' second St. Paul's, their fifth college in the East, began in 1576. Though the college was completed within two years, its church was not finished until 1590.[59] Like many Jesuit facilities, the college was situated in a prime location: St. Paul's Hill, as it was later called, the highest point in the city and a navigational fix for vessels entering the harbor. In 1585 one occupant wrote enthusiastically that the college possessed "two verandas and has a fine view of the whole town, sea, islands, river, forests and gardens."[60] Decades later a Dutch conqueror described the college as "an excellent building, solid and pleasing, standing at the top of a hill right in the middle of the city ... [with] a strongly built tower, about 100 feet high, and a beautiful garden. The church has three altars ... all richly ornamented."[61]

Despite its location and amenities, the college never grew as rapidly as did its brothers in Goa and Cochin. Nor was it intended to do so, for, as I. A. Macgregor wrote, Malacca was a place where "people were always leaving ... to go somewhere else." That was as true of the Jesuits and other missionaries as it was of merchants, royal officials, soldiers, and sailors.[62] Portuguese Malacca, like sultanic Malacca, remained a transit station. And for the Jesuits, as for many others, beyond lay the Moluccas, Japan, and China.

Two thousand kilometers east of Malacca and a year's sailing time from Goa lay the fabled Spice Islands, the source of highly prized cloves, mace, and nutmeg. Included in those mostly volcanic islands were the Moluccas: from north to south, Ternate, its bitter rival Tidore, Mankian, Batchan, Moitir, and Galolo (or Halmahera), the Moros, Amboina, Seran (Ceram), and the Bandas. Through contacts with Javanese mercenaries who had served in Malacca and with Muslim traders, the islands had become Islamicized during the half century prior to the arrival of the Portuguese.[63]

As was the case in both India and Ceylon, the Jesuits reached the Spice Islands in the wake of the Franciscans, who first came to Ternate in 1522. Xavier spent a year and a half (January 1546 to June 1547) in the islands and assigned them to one of his lieutenants. After hearing reports of headhunters there, the missionary refused to serve, and Xavier

Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Of Fortresses and Galleys: The 1568 Acehnese Siege of Melaka," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, 3 (1988): 607–28.

59. *DI*, 11: 200.

60. Fulvio Gregorii to Ludovico Marselli, Malacca, 26 June 1585, in *DI*, 14: 39–42. For the college's location, see the reproduction of a Dutch map of 1656–63 in P. A. Leupe, "The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640–1641," trans. Mac Hacobian, *JMBRAS* 14, 1 (1936): facing 176.

61. "Report of the Commissary Justus Schouten of His Visit to Malacca," 7 Sept. 1641, in *JMBRAS* 14, 1 (1936), 91.

62. Macgregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya," 6. See Didacus Pinto to Mercurian, Malacca, 25 Nov. 1580, in *DI*, 12: 144, for criticism of the constant movement of Jesuits, including rectors, in and out of the college. As will be seen elsewhere, Jesuit colleges at Macao, Mozambique, and even Lisbon also became transit facilities.

63. On the spread of Islam in Indonesia generally, see Ryan, *A History*, map 1; but cf. Uka Tjandrfasasmita, "The Introduction of Islam and the Growth of Muslim Coastal Cities in the Indonesian Archipelago," in Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas, eds., *Dynamics of Indonesian History* (New York, 1978), 141–60.



promptly dismissed him from the Society. A successor lasted less than a year, surviving repeated shipwrecks and attempted assassinations by Muslims before succumbing to what may have been poison.[64]

His experience was far from unique. Of 38 Jesuits who worked in the islands between 1546 and 1588, thirteen died there as a consequence of disease or Muslim militancy, and several of those who survived met early deaths elsewhere.[65] There were never more than ten Jesuits at a time to serve that insular expanse, and those who labored there met with hostility from the environment, Muslim leadership, and greedy Portuguese captains. Although the Society would be represented there until the mid-seventeenth century, the Spice Islands were always one of its least rewarding fields in the East. By contrast, Japan became its showcase.[66]

## *Japan, "A World Apart"*

In December 1547, soon after returning to Malacca from the Moluccas and only four years after the first Portuguese reached Japan, Francis Xavier obtained direct information concerning spiritual opportunities in Marco Polo's Cipango, "The Land of the Rising Sun," from two informants. Accompanied by one of them—Anjiro, the interpreter, renamed Paul of the Holy Faith—and by two Jesuits and two servants, Xavier landed in southwestern Kyushu at Kagoshima, capital of Satsuma and the home of Anjiro, on 15 August 1549, the fifteenth anniversary of his Montmartre vows. He remained on Kyushu and neighboring Honshu for 26 months, during which he was cordially welcomed by several *daimyos* (barons) anxious for trade with the Portuguese and convinced that the holy men could facilitate it. The apostle also confronted and debated with Buddhist priests (*bonzes*), who became the Jesuits' principal intellectual adversaries in the archipelago.

It was during his six-week sojourn in Kagoshima that Xavier penned his famous assessment of the Japanese: "The people with whom we have thus far conversed are the best that we have yet discovered; and it seems ... that, among pagan nations, there will not be another to surpass the Japanese."[67] Despite a chilling Nipponese winter, he went to the imperial capital, Kyoto (Miyako), hoping to persuade the emperor to grant the Jesuits permission to spread their gospel throughout his land. He discovered, however, that the ruler was no more than a figurehead, unable, even if he had wished, to issue such authorization.

64. S/*FX*, 3: 52–207, 286–87; 4: 355–56.

65. António Marta, "Informações das Moluccas" (1588), in Artur Basílio de Sá, comp. and ed., *Documentação para a historia das missões do padroado português do oriente: Insulindia*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1954–58), 5: 89–129.

66. The best survey of Jesuit experience in the islands remains C[ornelius] Wessels, S.J., *Histoire de la mission d'Amboine, 1546–1605*, trans. J. Roebroeck, S.J. (Louvain, 1934); see also Paramita R. Abdurachman, "Moluccan Responses to the First Intrusions of the West," in Soebadio and Marchie Sarvaas, eds. *Dynamics* (1978), 161–88, which is based upon Portuguese archival materials. John Villiers, "Las Yslas de Esperar en Dios: The Jesuit Mission in Moro, 1546–1571," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, 3 (1988): 593–606, rests upon published sources.

67. Xavier to his colleagues in Goa, Aug. 1549, quoted in S/*FX*, 4: 82. In a similar vein, his Spanish-born companion and successor, Cosme de Torres, wrote, "These Japanese are more ready to be implanted with our holy faith than are all the other nations of the world. They are as prudent as can be imagined. They are governed by reason as much as, or more than, Spaniards." Ibid., 269.

Finally, leaving behind a thousand converts and his confreres to tend them, the future saint sailed away.[68]

The Jesuits reached Japan at a propitious time.[69] As Xavier learned, the centralized authority of the old Ashikaga shogunate had been destroyed by a long series of baronial wars dating from the 1460s, conflicts that deprived the emperor and the shoguns of effective control over the isles' 61 provinces. It was the daimyos, not the emperor, who were vital to the successful spread of Christianity, for if they were converted, most of their vassals and those merchants, artisans, and farmers who depended upon them would fall into line. That was why Jesuits there, unlike their colleagues who served on the Fishery Coast, pursued the strategy known as "from the top down." That strategy was, of course, fraught with peril, for a Christian daimyo could be toppled or succeeded by an adherent of Buddhism or, less likely, Shintoism, and one day's mass conversion could become the next day's mass apostasy.

Still, there were several reasons that Japan became an unusually tempting challenge for the Jesuits. First, they found that the many sects of Buddhism were badly splintered and that the sects' leaders were not always respected. Indeed, many bonzes bore a closer resemblance to crusading European Knights Templar than to contemplative monks, participating directly in the political struggles and engaging in immoral behavior that rivaled that of many secular priests in contemporary Europe. Though some Buddhists militantly and effectively opposed the emissaries of an alien faith, others became converts to it. Second, the missionaries learned that the Japanese were eager to engage in foreign trade. Because of long-standing depredations along the coast of China by the so-called Japanese dwarf-robber (*wako*) pirates, the great mainland empire had closed its doors to all legal trade with Japan the very year Xavier landed at Kagoshima.[70] The Japanese badly wanted superior Chinese silks, as well as the gold and European-made firearms that Portuguese traders, assisted by missionary interpreters and arbitrators, could supply. Third, unlike polyglotous India, Africa, or Brazil, the Nipponese archipelago was dominated by a single language, the mastery of which could facilitate the dissemination of Christian propaganda.

The Jesuit enterprise in Japan began slowly during the 1550s and escalated until the second decade of the next century.[71] It began on Kyushu and advanced to the main island,

68. S/*FX*, 4: bk. 1, which provides a close analysis of Xavier's experiences in and impressions of Japan and its people.

69. For concise introductions to the history of Japan at this time, see Mitsusada Inoue, *Introduction to Japanese History—Before the Meiji Restoration* (Tokyo, 1962), and the introduction to Adriana Boscaro, trans. and ed., *101 Letters of Hideyoshi* (Tokyo, 1975). Despite its age, the second volume of James Murdoch and Isoh Yamagata, *A History of Japan*, 3 vols. (London, 1925), is still serviceable, as is Sir George Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1334–1615* (London, 1961).

70. Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century* (East Lansing, Mich., 1975). In a forthcoming study, Professor George Elison will revise our understanding of precisely who the wako were.

71. No satisfactory account of Jesuit enterprise in Japan exists. Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, 1951), is remarkable for what it tells, but it leaves out much and does not provide a coherent narrative. Elegantly written and powerfully argued, George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), is an intellectual study of high order but is concerned primarily with explaining the ultimate failure of the Jesuits, for whom the author has little sympathy. Often brilliant, Elison sometimes reaches beyond his evidence to perceive patterns of thought that I doubt existed. *VMP*, 1: chaps. 2–5, are indispensable. See also Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 9 vols. to date (Chicago, 1965–), esp. 1:2, chap. 8, as well as Murdoch and Yamagata, *History of Japan*, 2: chaps. 7–9 and 13, and Sansom, *History of Japan*, chaps. 18 and 21.



Honshu, only in the late 1560s. Following the disaffection of the lord of Satsuma, the center of the enterprise first shifted to Bungo, whose rulers were in the process of conquering half the island, and then, beginning in 1571, moved to the rising port of Nagasaki. The enterprise became the responsibility of a succession of leaders whose strategies and procedures were not always congruent: objectives tolerated by one strongman might be repudiated by his successor.

From 1551 until 1570, the missions' superior was a Valencian, Cosme de Torres (b. 1510–d. 1570), whom Xavier had personally recruited.[72] Although Xavier's successors sent Torres as many men as they could spare, he never had more than thirteen, only seven of whom were priests, and often he had far fewer (see Table 3.1). Burdened by ill health and restricted by a limited vision of what might be accomplished, Torres nevertheless deserves credit for some notable conversions, including the lord of Bungo, who permitted the Jesuits to establish the archipelago's first hospital at Funai (Oita) in 1556. Torres also initiated negotiations that, after his death, led to establishment of the Society's headquarters at Nagasaki, and he persuaded Oda Nobunaga (b. 1534–d. 1582), the first of a trio of military strongmen who successfully centralized the quarreling provinces, to allow the Jesuits to preach in Kyoto and in the provinces that he controlled. When Torres died, he left a Christian population that approached 30,000.

The 1570s began inauspiciously for the Japan enterprise when the first Visitor and four companions perished off the Japanese coast in a typhoon.[73] But that decade and the early 1580s proved to be the "take-off" period for the enterprise. Initially under the leadership of the redoubtable patrician Francisco Cabral (b. 1528–d. 1609), kinsman of the discoverer of Brazil and commander of the second Portuguese expedition to India, and later under the decisive control of Alessandro Valignano, who undertook the first of three extended visitations of the archipelago between 1579 and 1582,[74] the numbers of Jesuits and neophytes rose dramatically. Besides the lord of Bungo, prominent converts included the daimyos of Omura and Arima in northwestern Kyushu, many Buddhist priests, and some renowned scholars. During the Jesuits' mass-conversion campaigns in northern Kyushu, zealous daimyos banished those who refused to adhere to the new faith and destroyed countless ancient temples and shrines.[75] No wonder Cabral observed that there were no better apostles in Japan than the daimyos themselves.[76]

72. Torres was a secular priest who for a time served as a Latin teacher on the island of Majorca. Persuaded by a Franciscan friend to go to Mexico, he became the chaplain of Don António de Mendoza, that colony's first viceroy, but after three and a half years there became restless and joined the ill-fated Villalobos expedition from Mexico to the Philippines. When he was shipwrecked on the island of Amboina, Xavier persuaded him to join the Society and later to accompany him to Japan. S/*FX*, 3: 115 and 4: 268.

73. *VMP*, 1: 315.

74. Valignano returned in 1590 and remained until 1592; he came back again in 1598 and stayed until 1603, three years before his death in Macao. *VMP*, 1: xvii–xviii. Fr. Cabral came to the East as an adventurer and joined the Order there in 1554. Before being posted to Japan, he held administrative positions in three colleges in India, to which he later returned to become provincial in the 1590s. Ibid., 188ff.

75. As in India, there remains the question of whether such conversions were wholly voluntary. In a lengthy directive in 1575, Mercurian equivocated, stating that although compulsory baptisms were to be avoided, missionaries ought "not to be too slow in encouraging prospective converts to enter the Christian fold—otherwise many souls might be lost whom we could have won for Christ." *VMP*, 1: 368.

76. Ibid., 1: 206.

Because Japan offered far greater opportunities than any other mission field in the East, it became the Jesuits' most favored assignment. There were 44 Jesuits in the islands by 1578, three times the number present at the beginning of the decade; by the end of the next year, that number had increased by eleven, and the fathers reckoned that there were 100,000 converts, three times as many as in 1571.[77] In that year Nagasaki became the terminus of the vital silk trade with Macao. Nine years later the baron of Omura took the unprecedented step of ceding the port's administration and part of its revenues to the Society.[78] The next year, the Japan missions became the Society's first vice-province within the Assistancy.

Though these steps pleased Valignano, he was far from satisfied with the condition of the Japan enterprise. He was not deceived by the growing number of converts, for he realized that few had had the opportunity to receive religious instruction. "Sometimes," he wrote, "eight or ten months pass without their seeing a single father, and when . . . they have him to themselves, it is only for a day or two."[79] He also knew that the pertinacity of the neophytes could evaporate because of the changing whims of their lords, the influence of unconverted members of their families, and the cunning of the bonzes. As Elison suggests, "The harvest had been great in quantity, but there was reason to doubt the quality of the fruit."[80]

The obvious solution was more frequent and better-quality instruction; but that meant additional manpower, and there were limits to how many Jesuits Europe or India could furnish. Some of those dispatched perished en route; others proved unsuitable. In the long run, Valignano concluded, the success of Christianity in Japan depended upon the development of an indigenous clergy. As he knew, the enterprise already relied heavily upon Japanese recruits, the *dojuku*, acolytes who, as Elison observed, "became the workhorses of the Society without actually belonging to it as members."[81] Although not permitted to take solemn vows, ostensibly because of their inadequate training, the dojuku served as preachers, translators, and advance men for the missionaries and were responsible for the conversion of key community leaders.[82] But the Visitor was shocked to observe that their morale was exceedingly low because his colleagues held them in utter contempt and complained about their unwillingness to adopt European ways. He insisted that since the Jesuits were strangers in an alien land, they must accommodate themselves to Japanese norms with respect to food, dress, hygiene, and manners. Valignano became convinced that the time was fast approaching when Japanese should be admitted to the Order.

His fellow patrician Francisco Cabral strongly disagreed. Although he himself had once favored taking in Japanese candidates, his years of experience in the archipelago caused him to turn increasingly cool toward such a prospect. Clearly burned out, Cabral was reassigned

77. *CCJ*, 242; *VMP*, 1: 269.

78. Diego Pacheco, S.J., "The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki and Its Cession to the Society of Jesus," *Monumenta Nipponica* 25, 3–4 (1970): 303–23; *VMP*, 1: 327–34.

79. *VMP*, 1: 298.

80. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 17.

81. Ibid., 16; *VMP*, 2: 39.

82. Arimichi Ebisawa, "Irmão Lourenço, the First Japanese Lay-Brother of the Society of Jesus and His Letter," *Monumenta Nipponica* 5 (1942): 225–33.



in 1579, leaving the Visitor a free hand to appoint as Japan's first vice-provincial, the experienced Gaspar Coelho (b. ca. 1531–d. 1590), who strongly supported Valignano's plans.[83]

The year after Cabral's departure, Valignano and Coelho established the first instructional facilities in Japan, the purpose of which was to train the sons of nobles to become Christian gentlemen, to qualify Japanese recruits for the priesthood, and to provide essential language instruction for European Jesuits. The new institutions included a novitiate and probationary house located within the Usuki fortress, 20 kilometers from the port of Funai, and a college at Funai, where instruction was offered in Japanese, Portuguese, Latin, and vocal and instrumental music, as well as religious doctrine. In addition, two boarding schools (seminaries) to train noble sons were opened, one at Arima, the other at Azuchi, where Nobunaga had just built a large castle.[84]

As soon as these institutions were operating, Valignano left Japan, confident that the entire archipelago could be converted if sufficient workers and adequate funds became available.[85] For a time his optimism seemed justified, despite the treacherous assassination of Nobunaga (1582) and the subsequent destruction of the Azuchi seminary. By 1586 there were 113 Jesuits, 20 residences, 200 churches, and an estimated 200,000 Christians in Japan.[86] In October 1587, however, there suddenly occurred the famous "thunderbolt of St. James' Day," when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (b. 1536–d. 1598), the peasant-born, misshapen soldier who had succeeded Nobunaga, peremptorily ordered the banishment of all Jesuits from the archipelago.

Authorities differ on whether Hideyoshi's action was the result of caprice or calculation. The fathers, who were caught completely off guard by the draconic decree requiring them to leave the country within twenty days (but exempting Portuguese traders from that stipulation), believed that the strongman acted because of a fit of pique or drunken fury. Later writers have suggested that Hideyoshi may have been moved by warnings from the bonzes that the Jesuits constituted a fifth column and were preparing the way for the European conquest of his homeland, or that he was simply implementing another phase of his centralizing campaign, which aimed at military rule.[87]

If the order was, indeed, a calculated move, it is puzzling that it was never implemented. It is true that Hideyoshi issued additional directives demanding the seizure of rosaries and relics, the removal of all flags and crosses, and the confiscation of Nagasaki and two other

83. *VMP*, 1: chaps. 4 5. Boxer's assertion that because Cabral did not share Valignano's views he "was sent packing to Macao" (*CCJ*, 73) ignores the fact that Cabral had been asking to be relieved for several years. His views on most issues do not seem to have differed fundamentally from those of Valignano, and I suspect that at bottom their disagreements were rooted in the fact that one was Italian, the other Portuguese, one an old soldier, the other an old lawyer. See *VMP*, 1: 188–247 and 376–78.

84. Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japon (1583) [y] Adiciones del sumario (1592)*, ed. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, no. 9 (Tokyo, 1954), 143*–44*, 110–17; Naojiro Murakami, "The Jesuit Seminary of Azuchi," *Monumenta Nipponica* 6 (1943): 370–74.

85. Valignano, *Sumario*, chap. 6; Valignano to Aquaviva, Cochin, 12 Dec. 1584, in *DI*, 13: 598; Valignano to Fr. Manuel Rodrigues (Assistant in Rome), 27 Nov. 1587, in *DI*, 14: 654.

86. *DI*, 14: 38*, but cf. 673.

87. For differing views, see *CCJ*, 104, 145–47; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 116–17; Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 92 and 225; Sansom, *History of Japan*, 346–48, and Murdoch and Yamagata, *History of Japan*, 2: 236–50. Hideyoshi's surviving correspondence fails to reveal his reasons for the expulsion, and Boscaro reasonably argues that his motivation "remains largely within the realm of conjecture." *101 Letters*, 32.

cities the Jesuits controlled. Some 60 out of nearly 250 Jesuit houses were destroyed, and for a time the fathers retired to the island of Hirado. Perhaps Hideyoshi merely intended to warn the Jesuits, though he might have acted far more severely had he known of Vice-Provincial Coelho's plans for armed resistance and his appeals to Macao, Goa, and even Spanish Manila for military aid. Less than three years later, the bellicose Coelho quietly expired, and the Jesuits began sifting back to their assignments under the protection of sympathetic daimyos.

Hideyoshi took no steps to punish such defiance, though he made it clear to Alessandro Valignano that henceforth he expected the fathers to abstain from all political activity and to maintain a low profile. He conveyed that warning in March 1591, when Valignano returned to Japan in his capacity as ambassador of the viceroy at Goa as well as Visitor. The inspector brought with him 28 Jesuits and four teenage noble youths from Kyushu who had completed a remarkable odyssey.

Valignano himself had organized their tour. In 1582 he assembled an expedition consisting of the sons of the retainers of prominent barons, several Jesuit escorts, and personal servants. The dual purposes of the trip were to acquaint Europe with the achievements of the Society in Japan and to impress upon the neophytes the attainments of European civilization. He himself accompanied the envoys as far as Goa, after which they sailed to Lisbon, traveled by land within the Iberian Peninsula, sailed from there to Rome, and journeyed throughout northern Italy. Everywhere, leading dignitaries, including the regent of Portugal, Philip II of Spain, and Popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, received them warmly.[88]

The mission was highly successful. If the awareness of Japan and of the Society's work there increased among leading Europeans, the Japanese too were impressed by the reports and gifts that the samurai youths brought back. The position of the Jesuits in the archipelago appeared to be more secure than ever. By 1592 there were 136 members in the islands, together with 180 dojuku and 380 servants, and the number of Christians they served rose to an estimated 300,000 out of a population of between 15 and 20 million.[89] But suddenly a new crisis developed.

There were two dimensions to that crisis, one internal, the other external; both involved competition. The internal threat (as it was perceived) was the fruit of Valignano's insistence that Japanese be qualified for admission to the Society. Until 1601 none had, in fact, been admitted to the priesthood, but by 1590 the number of novices had reached 70, more than twice as many as had existed a decade earlier, and even Valignano became concerned about the prospect of a Japanese majority within the enterprise in the islands and consequently restricted further admissions.[90] In distant Goa, where Francisco Cabral was now provincial,

88. Much has been written about the embassy. See J. M. Braga, "Os enviados Japoneses a Roma em 1582–1585," *Arquivos de Macao*, 2d ser. 1 (1945): 97–101; J. A. Abranches Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto, and Henri Bernard, S.J., *La Première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592*, pt. 1 (Tokyo, 1942), covers the outbound voyage in detail with useful maps, but a planned second volume was apparently never published. Lach, *Asia*, 1:2, 688–706, is the fullest account in English. For additional bibliography, see Adriana Boscaro, *Sixteenth-Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Leiden, 1973), for which I am indebted to Donald Lach; as well as *BHCJ*, 2:2, 441–42.

89. Michael Cooper, S.J., *Rodrigues the Interpreter* (New York, 1974), 239; *RJC*, 326; Murdoch and Yamagata, *History of Japan*, 2: 70.

90. *CCJ*, 89.



the old foe of Valignano warned that "if one does not cease and desist admitting Japanese into the Society . . . that will be the reason for [its] collapse . . ., nay! of Christianity in Japan." In words that represented the very antithesis of those of Xavier and Torres a generation earlier, the provincial concluded, "I have seen no other nation as conceited, covetous, inconstant, and insincere as the Japanese," and he admonished European fathers serving in the islands not to trust their Japanese brothers.[91]

But could they trust other European missionaries? Wherever they served, members of each missionary group yearned for exclusive evangelical opportunities on the ground that a multiplicity of Orders would inhibit the success of their endeavors.[92] For close to 40 years the Society was the only Christian agency in Japan. Valignano very much wanted to maintain that situation. He devoted a chapter of his "Japan Summary" (1583) to an analysis of the reasons why it would be "inconvenient" for competitors to function within the country.[93] He urged Aquaviva to procure a papal bull confirming the Society's unique status in the islands, and in 1585 Gregory XIII responded with precisely the sort of brief that the Visitor wanted.[94]

Nevertheless, the Jesuits were not destined to remain the only spokesmen for Christ in Japan. Apart from a few strays, the first competitors, a Spanish Dominican monk and several Franciscans, arrived from the Philippines in 1592–93 at a time when Hideyoshi was actively exploring possible trade relations between Japan and the Spanish islands. Although formal relations were not established, the Franciscans remained on Honshu, much to the annoyance of the Jesuits. In October 1596 a typhoon compelled the *San Felipe*, one of the famed Manila galleons, to seek refuge in a Shikoku port, where it was fatally damaged on a bar. Although the passengers and a large quantity of silver bullion were saved, the local daimyo, acting upon Hideyoshi's instructions, confiscated the cargo. As Donald F. Lach observes, that was no mere act of caprice, for the *taiko*, or regent (Hideyoshi), had just met with a severe reversal in his effort to conquer Korea and badly needed silver to procure fresh war materiel. When a Spanish delegation, spurred by the Franciscans, protested too vigorously and the galleon's chief pilot was heard to boast that missionaries had already served as advance men in previous Spanish conquests, the regent responded decisively and shockingly. He ordered the immediate arrest of 26 Christians—six Franciscan friars, seventeen of their neophytes, and three Japanese Jesuit brothers—and accused them of being threats to the realm. On 5 February 1597, the 26 were crucified in Nagasaki.[95]

The Portuguese Jesuits were *not* directly involved in the Spaniards' troubles. It remains unclear why their Japanese brothers were among the Nagasaki victims. But the

91. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 16.

92. One thinks, for example, of the Dominicans' exclusive preserve in Timor and Solor, of the efforts of Dominicans and Jesuits to exclude Augustinians from Mozambique, and of the Jesuits' efforts to maintain exclusivity in the Amazon.

93. Valignano, *Sumario*, chap. 9; cf. *CCJ*, 156–59.

94. *CCJ*, 160.

95. For interpretations of the causes and significance of the *San Felipe* affair, see *CCJ*, 163–71; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 136–40; and Lach, *Asia*, 1:1, 308–9. See also C. R. Boxer, "Friar Juan Pobre of Zamora," *Indiana University Bookman*, no. 10 (Nov. 1969): 25–48. Pobre was a Franciscan witness to the martyrdom. The 26 martyrs were canonized in 1627.

Society paid in the aftermath, for more than 100 of its churches were destroyed by anti-Christian mobs. Their frenzy ceased with Hideyoshi's death (1598), but as the century closed, members of the Society were far less certain of their future in Japan than they had been a few years earlier. By contrast, Jesuit prospects in China were then better than ever.

## *The Chinese Spoke*

China was a vastly different country from Japan. Its populatio outnumbered that of the archipelago by roughly five to one in the sixteenth century.[96] While Japan was being torn apart by civil wars, China remained static under the paternalistic rule of the Mings, who had overthrown the Mongols in 1368 and governed through a pyramidal hierarchy headed by remote but unchallenged emperors. In the empire, Buddhist and Taoist priests, unlike their Japanese counterparts, did not seriously challenge the political and military authorities and were, in fact, closely supervised by the ministry of rites (*li-pu*), which carefully restricted their numbers and activities.[97]

As in Japan, Portuguese traders preceded missionaries in imperial China. Beginning in the 1520s, Lusitanian smuggler-traders began to frequent Chinese waters to exchange pepper, sappanwood, ivory, and other products for foodstuffs, silks, and other goods.[98] The cessation of direct trade between Japan and China (1549) enabled them to serve as vital commercial intermediaries between the two hostile East Asian powers. In 1557 the Portuguese gained a precarious foothold on the south China coast when they were permitted to establish a permanent transit port, Macao, between the Pearl and West rivers, opposite Canton (Guangzhou).[99]

The Jesuits first reached Macao during the early 1560s, and by 1565 had established a house and a school there. But they did not found their famous college, Madre de Deus, until 1593. In time its church, of which only the four-tiered stone facade remains, became one of the city's most splendid ornaments.[100] Apart from its role as a training center for secular priests as well as members of the Society, the college would become a vital transit center for Jesuits bound for enterprises throughout East Asia.

96. For population estimates of Ming China close to 1600, see John D. Durand, "The Population Statistics of China, A.D. 2–1953," *Population Studies* 13, 3 (Mar. 1960): 209–56; Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 22–23; idem, "An Estimate of the Total Population of Sung-Chin China," in Françoise Aubin, ed., *Études Song: In Memoriam Étienne Balazs*, ser. 1 (Paris [?], 1970), 33–53; and Lach, *Asia*, 1:2, 769 n. 208.

97. Charles O. Hucker, *The Traditional Chinese State in Ming Times (1368–1644)* (Tucson, 1961); and Ray Huang, *1587, A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven, 1981).

98. C. R. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, *HS*:2, 106 (1953), xxi xxiv.

99. On early Macao, see C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao* (1948; rpr., New York, 1968); idem, "Macao as a Religious and Commercial Entrepôt in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 26 (Tokyo, 1974): esp. 64–65; and Austin Coates, *A Macao Narrative* (London, 1978), which is especially useful for its excellent photographs.

100. There is an excellent illustration of the church's facade in one of the endpapers of Coates's *A Macao Narrative*; the other endpaper locates the college on a hill within the heart of the city. For an appreciative description of the college's appearance in the seventeenth century, see Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1687*, ed. R. C. Temple and L. Anstey, *HS*:2, no. 46 (1919): 162–63, 267–69.



One of the most appealing of those enterprises was the Ming empire, but, although poised on its very edge, Jesuits, like their missionary rivals as well as diplomats and traders, found it a difficult nut to crack. During Xavier's sojourn in Japan, his questioners provocatively asked him, "If yours is the true faith, why have not the Chinese ... heard of it?"[101] That question troubled the future saint, who yearned to go to the empire to meet and convert the emperor, but he got no closer than the island of Sancian (St. John's Island), 160 kilometers from Canton.[102] After the apostle's death there, several of his followers attempted to gain admission to the empire, without success. One of them, the Spaniard Juan Bautista Ribeira, who had been sent to China by his superiors in Rome, was disappointed in his endeavors to enter in disguise and ruefully returned to Europe convinced, like other frustrated missionaries, that the Chinese would have to be conquered before they could be saved.[103]

Between 1552 and 1583, 32 Jesuits, 24 Franciscans, 2 Augustinians, and 1 Dominican tried to obtain license to preach in China: all failed.[104] If Jesuits were to succeed where others had failed, a fresh approach was needed. Visitor Valignano, who was in Macao between October 1577 and July 1578, recognized the problem and discovered its solution. After reviewing the long record of missionary failures, he concluded that "the only possible method of penetration will be utterly different from that which has been adopted up to now."[105] That method was cultural accommodation, and for it to be successful its practitioners would need a sound knowledge of the Chinese language, something that none of the Jesuits then resident in Macao possessed. Fresh troops were necessary, notably the Italians recently arrived in India, among them two of Valignano's onetime novices.

The first of the new recruits to reach Macao was Michele Ruggieri (b. 1543–d. 1607). Born in Spinazzola in the kingdom of Naples, Ruggieri, like Valignano, was trained in law before he entered the Society (1572). Six years later he sailed to India with a number of other Italian-born Jesuits who would distinguish themselves in the East, including Matteo Ricci, Rudolfo Aquaviva, and Francesco Spínola. Just over a year after his arrival in Goa, Ruggieri responded to Valignano's summons, but by the time he reached Macao, the Visitor had already left for Japan. When he attempted to comply with Valignano's instructions to begin the intensive study of the Chinese language, he met with scorn from other Jesuits in the outpost, for they were convinced that "any attempt to win over [the Chinese] was a sheer waste of time, like trying to whiten an Ethiopian."[106] When Valignano came back to Macao, he remonstrated with Ruggieri's critics and demanded that

101. Lach, *Asia*, 1:2, 794.

102. *S/EX*, 4: 640–43.

103. Henry Bernard [Maitre], S.J., *Aux portes de la Chine: Les missionaires du seizième siècle, 1514–1588* (Tiensin, 1933), pt. 1; Lach, *Asia*, 1:2, 797–98. For bizarre Jesuit and other proposals to force open China's closed doors, see C. R. Boxer, "Portuguese and Spanish Projects for the Conquest of Southeast Asia, 1580–1600," *Journal of Asian History* 3, 2 (1969): 132–36. See also François Bontinck, *La Lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles* (Louvain, 1962), 4 and nn. 11–12.

104. *RJC*, 325; Pascuale M. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazione tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1949), 1: 139–42 n. 5.

105. Quoted by George H. Dunne, S.J., *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame, 1962), 17–18.

106. Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., trans., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610* (1942; rpr., New York, 1953), 131.

they cease "portugalizing" their Chinese converts and commence "sinicizing" themselves in preparation for their mainland enterprise.[107]

That enterprise effectively began in 1583. In September Ruggieri and a companion traveled to Chao-ch'ing, capital of the viceregency of Kwantung and Kwansi provinces, where they established the first Jesuit mission in the empire. Within five years, however, Ruggieri was no longer associated with the China enterprise and was sent back to Europe. If he warrants credit as a pioneer and as the first to translate Christian doctrine into Chinese, it was his companion, Matteo Ricci (b. 1552–d. 1610), who would become the effective founder of the China enterprise, despite repeated reverses that discouraged even Valignano.

It was Fr. Ricci who devised the strategies that enabled Jesuits to survive and ultimately to attain considerable success in China. Ricci was born in the Adriatic town of Macerata in October 1552, less than three months before Xavier's death. Although sent by his pharmacist father to Rome to prepare himself for the legal profession, he emphasized philosophical and theological studies, as well as mathematics, cosmography, and astronomy. On Ascension Day (15 August) in 1571 he entered the Society, where his quick intelligence caught the eye of the master of novices, Alessandro Valignano. After volunteering for the eastern missions, he was sent to Coimbra and then to Goa for training, and he later taught rhetoric in St. Paul's in Goa and at the college of Madre de Deus in Cochin. In 1582 Valignano called Ricci to Macao to join Ruggieri and others in studying Chinese language and culture. His rapid progress made him the appropriate companion for Ruggieri. Except for brief visits to Macao, he stayed in China for the balance of his life. As gifted as his great contemporary, the resourceful administrator Valignano, or as his remarkable preaching predecessor, Xavier, Ricci proved far more serene and cerebral than St. Francis, less acerbic than his Italian superior, and far less severe and infinitely more patient in his relations with others than either. Neither could match his gift for languages or his scientific and technical abilities. Although he was just as fervent in his desire to spread Christianity, his methods were radically different from those of Xavier and more consonant with the views of Valignano.[108]

During the five years that Ricci remained at Chao-ch'ing, he perfected his knowledge of Chinese, aided by his photographic memory, and deepened his understanding of early Confucian classics in order to discover cultural bridges between ancient Chinese philosophy and Christian doctrines. The fruits of that study included a Chinese-Portuguese vocabulary (prepared with Ruggieri); a small treatise on friendship; the far more substantial and influential *True Account of God*, a work destined to be translated into major Asian languages; and his famous *mappamundi*, the first edition of which he completed before the end of 1584.[109] The multitalented Jesuit also painted and engraved sundials. They were among

107. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 18–19. By "portugalizing," he meant the customary Jesuit practice of requiring neophytes to assume Portuguese names, wear European clothes, and adopt other Lusitanian practices.

108. D'Elia, *Fonte Ricciane*, 1: ci–cxxxi; Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 21–107; Gallagher, *China*, esp. xi–xiii; and especially Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984).

109. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 29, 40, 44, and 96; Gallagher, *China*, 165–66. See especially Pascuale M. D'Elia, S.J., "Recent Discoveries and New Studies (1938–1960) on the World Map in Chinese of Father Matteo Ricci S.J.," *Monumenta Serica* 20 (1961): 82–164; idem, *Il mappamundo cinese del P. Matteo Ricci* (Rome, 1938). The third edition (of four) of Ricci's global map (the Vatican Library copy) is reproduced as plate 2 in the second volume of D'Elia's *Fonti Ricciane*.



the eye-catching gifts that he presented to friendly, bureaucrat-scholars, who were also impressed by other specimens of European technology, most notably glass prisms, watches, and chiming clocks.[110]

Although the technical innovations that Ricci and his successors made in or introduced to China may seem unrelated to their spiritual mission, they were, in fact, important elements in a program that was intended to replace the xenophobia and haughty cultural superiority of the Chinese intelligentsia with a yearning for Western ideas, including Christianity. "The Chinese are so self-opinionated," wrote Ricci, "that they can not be made to believe that the day will ever come when they will learn anything from foreigners which is not already set down in their own books."[111] But, as Ricci had hoped, scholar-magistrates in communities where he resided, as well as those from the provinces, became frequent visitors to the mission houses, where long scientific and philosophical discussions prepared the way for what Dunne has called the "apostolate by radiation."[112]

So, too, did the Jesuits' growing mastery of the Chinese language, their increasing understanding of Chinese culture, their adaptation of Chinese dress and customs. Initially the Jesuits entered China in the attire of Buddhist monks, but they discovered that the monks were held in lower esteem than were scholars, and in the mid-1590s they shifted to the dress of Confucian scholars. The first Jesuits also discovered that a respectable Chinese rarely employed his proper name but was commonly addressed by an honor name. "Up to this time," wrote Ricci, "the Fathers had always used their own names and were so called by their servants and domestics. To the Chinese this was ... quite unrefined. Therefore, in order to make themselves all things to all persons, and for the winning of souls to Christ [we] adopted the custom of taking an honor-name ... before entering [China]."[113] That, along with the wearing of the famous pigtails, became part of the process of sinicization that Ricci was convinced was essential if Jesuits were to achieve their goals in China. Under his leadership and that of his successors, the practice of cultural accommodation that Valignano so frequently urged went much further than in any other part of the Portuguese Assistancy.

There were other distinguishing features of the China mission. Ricci was keenly aware that the missionaries' stay in China was wholly dependent upon the sufferance of Ming authorities. There were no daimyos to protect them if they were at odds with powerful eunuchs or lesser officials; nor was there any realistic prospect of military support from outside. Therefore, he urged and practiced low visibility. He built no impressive churches or colleges situated in prominent places in Chinese communities. Indeed, there were no churches at all. In 1596 Ricci wrote, "I do not think that we shall establish a church, but instead a room for discussion and we will say Mass privately in another chapel, or perhaps use the reception hall for chapel; because one preaches more effectively and with greater fruit here through conversations than through formal sermons."[114] Not only were church spires, tolling bells, and fiery sermons absent, but so too were massive processions of converts

110. Gallagher, *China*, 169, 160–61, and 180.
111. Ibid., 142.
112. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 47.
113. Gallagher, *China*, 178.
114. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 46.

comparable to those that Jesuits and other missionaries organized in India and elsewhere. Nor were there any instances of mass conversions like those achieved by Xavier on the Fishery Coast or by his successors in Kyushu. Obviously forced conversions were out of the question in Ming China. Consequently, Christianity grew less spectacularly there than in Japan or India during the formative period. But that, too, was part of Ricci's strategy, for, unlike Xavier on the Fishery Coast, Ricci was far less concerned about the superficial conversion of today's multitudes who might become tomorrow's apostates than he was about intellectually achieved conversions of small cadres who might endure in bad times as well as good.[115]

The persistence of hostility toward those whom the Chinese consistently called the Southern Barbarians or (borrowing a Muslim term) the *Fo-lang-kis*, the Franks, meaning Europeans generally, all of whom Chinese leaders considered to be their cultural and moral inferiors, also retarded the enterprise in Ricci's time. Some Chinese considered the Jesuits to be alchemists, spies, and (as in Japan) advance agents of Portuguese merchants who wished to penetrate interior imperial markets.[116] On more than one occasion, mobs threw stones at Ricci and his colleagues, ravaged their gardens, and pillaged their residence.[117] Help was not forthcoming from timid imperial officials, who were anxious to receive the technological wonders the Jesuits brought but fearful for their jobs and their very lives because of their fraternization with foreigners.

The first of many predicaments that Jesuits faced in the empire occurred in 1588, the year after Hideyoshi's famous expulsion order, when a viceroy demanded that the Jesuits leave the country. Ricci eventually surmounted that threat by persuading the viceroy to accept a face-saving solution: the removal of the Jesuits from Chao-ch'ing to the interior city of Siuchow.[118] The establishment of a new residence there (1589) was followed by the founding of others at Nanchiang (1595), Nanking (Nanjing) (1599), and finally Peking (Beijing), where Ricci gained official acceptance in 1601 and where he spent the remaining nine years of his life.[119] But although he was able to send the emperor and others impressive gifts, including religious paintings, a clock, and a spinet, he was never able to fulfill the rest of Xavier's ambition: he was never permitted to meet, much less to have an opportunity to convert, the emperor; but then the Chinese emperor was far more remote from even his highest officials than were the Japanese strongmen from their advisors.

Until his last year Ricci had very few helpers. By 1610 his team had grown to sixteen—eight European priests and an equal number of Chinese brothers—who staffed four residences and attended 2,500 converts.[120] But Ricci had successfully cultivated many important friends, especially during his Peking years. A few years before Ricci's death, Valignano marveled that "the business of this mission . . . has come to such a point that it seems more miraculous than human, for it would have been unbelievable that in a hundred

115. Ibid., 87. Cf. D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), chap. 6, esp. 196–97.

116. Gallagher, *China*, 161, 186–89, and 231.

117. Ibid., 191–93.

118. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 31; Gallagher, *China*, 205–29.

119. Joseph Dehergne, S.J., "Les Crétientés de Chine de la période Ming (1581–1650)," *Monumenta Serica* 16 (Tokyo, 1957): 122; Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, chaps. 5–6.

120. Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 67; Dehergne, "Les Crétientés," 122.



years Ours could have come to such credit in China as they have or could live [there] with such honor."[121] Nevertheless, there were those who wondered in 1610 whether the enterprise could survive without Ricci's impressive talents and tactful leadership. Time would show that it could (see Chapter 6).

## *The Beginnings of the Enterprise in Brazil*

Although the activities of Xavier, Ricci, and others in the East were far more celebrated, it should not be forgotten that contemporaneously other Jesuits were establishing their enterprises along the flanks of the South Atlantic and that their Brazilian endeavors would eventually outperform those in the imperiled eastern theaters. On 29 March 1549, five and a half months before Xavier stepped ashore in Kagoshima, the first members of his Order reached the New World and sailed into the Brazilian harbor of All Saints Bay. Portugal claimed the territory of Brazil, which had been discovered by its second India-bound expedition in 1500, but did not attempt its formal occupation until the 1530s, when the crown entrusted the occupation, defense, and exploitation of segments of the littoral to a group of captains-donatary. Its aims were to facilitate the agricultural development of the colony and to deny it to Portugal's French rivals. Despite the successful introduction of cane sugar and the continued exploitation of timber, the dyewood known as brazilwood, and certain other commodities, the proprietary (captaincy) system was not a success. Accordingly, in 1549 John III acted decisively: having recently recovered title to the centrally located captaincy of Bahia from the heirs of its late captain-donatary, the king dispatched a royal governor and staff of officials to All Saints Bay with 1,000 men to erect what would become for the crown and the Society the Brazilian equivalent of Goa, the city of Salvador.[122]

When Simão Rodrigues learned of the king's plans for Brazil, he eagerly sought permission to lead the first groups there. In view of the glowing reports of Xavier's achievements in the East, the king authorized the dispatch of a group of Jesuits, but he again insisted that the provincial remain home. In his place, initially as missions superior and then, from 1553 until 1560, as provincial, went Manuel da Nóbrega (b. 1517–d. 1570), son of a High Court magistrate and nephew of a royal chancellor. Like Valignano and Ricci, he had studied law and theology, but he had done so at the universities of Coimbra and Salamanca. Having unsuccessfully competed for two academic posts, Nóbrega joined the Society in 1544. Over the next five years he earned a reputation as a humble, earnest, resolute priest, one who was able to withstand physical hardships and surmount his handicap as a stammerer to become an effective preacher.[123] Three priests and two brothers accompanied Nóbrega on his mission. The former included Leonardo Nunes and João de Azpilcueta Navarro, nephew of a noted Coimbra professor who was a cousin of Xavier.

121. D'Elia, "Recent Discoveries," 164 n. 263.

122. H[arold] B. Johnson, "The Portuguese Settlement of Brazil, 1500–1580," Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, 11 vols. (New York, 1984–94), 1: 249–86.

123. For Nóbrega's career, see *HCJB*, 9: 413–33, and Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., "Nóbrega of Brazil," *Mid-America*, n.s. 13 (July 1942): 151–87.

Brazil was certainly no India or Japan or China. Unlike those lands, Brazil was sparsely held by an estimated 1.5 to 2.4 million Indians (Brasis) who were culturally light-years removed from the sophisticated easterners. Of the more than 300 tribes with whom the missionaries and settlers would come into contact, the most numerous were the Tupi tribes, who had displaced more primitive hunter-gatherers—the Tapuias (peoples of the strange tongue)—along the seacoast a century before the coming of the Europeans. The most prominent among the Tupians, cultural relatives of the Guaraní of interior Paraguay, were the Tupinambá, who dwelt in or near the thick rain forest in isolated, semisedentary communities varying in size from a few hundred to several thousand members. Though mystically inclined, the Tupinambá lacked highly complex bodies of religious thought comparable to Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, or Confucianism; nor did they possess any of the technological advantages long available in the East.[124]

Despite such differences, Nóbrega and his confreres expressed no regret about their assignment: they saw limitless opportunities for evangelization, not only among the tribesmen, but also among renegade Christians, whom they scolded for living immoral lives. Shortly after his arrival, the missions superior reported confidently, "This is our enterprise," and predicted that "much fruit" would be harvested for Christ. Initially the fathers found the Brasis warmly receptive, leading them to conclude that "conversion of these heathen is an easy matter." But the superior warned that "they can be kept in good behavior only with many workers, for they believe in nothing," lacking, as the early and oft-repeated proverb in Brazil put it, "religion, laws, or king."[125] Although the Indians appeared willing to become Christians, "they find it difficult to abandon their customs," especially sanguinary wars; reliance upon shamans (*pajes*), "the principal enemies we have here"; the practice of plural marriages; and the consumption of manioc beer.[126]

The fathers' early confidence in their ability to remold the character of the aborigines by example and persuasion evaporated in the face of the Brasis' resistance to continued intrusions by white settlers upon their fishing and hunting grounds and to the settlers' practice of enslaving Indians needed for their burgeoning sugar plantations. The missionaries warmly supported pacification campaigns undertaken by their close friend and benefactor, Mem de Sá, Brazil's third governor-general (1557–72), in the outlying districts of All Saints Bay and elsewhere along the coast.[127] In 1557 a chastened Nóbrega wrote, "By experience

124. For an able assessment of the Brasis and the results of European contact, see John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).

125. That proverb, "não tem fé, nem lei, nem rei," was based not only upon direct observations but also upon the fact that the Tupi language lacked the letters f, l, and r. The origin of such a conviction goes back farther than even Robert Ricard recognized; see his *Études et documents pour l'histoire missionaire de l'Espagne et du Portugal* (Louvain, 1930), 204–5. Amerigo Vespucci first made the assertion ca. 1504, and both secular and ecclesiastical writers would repeat it endlessly over the next two centuries. Those who settled in New France came to the same mistaken conclusion. See [Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão], *Dialogues of the Great Things of Brazil*, trans. and ed., F. A. H. Hall, W. F. Harrison, and Dorothy W. Welker (Albuquerque, 1987), 308, 329–30 n. 19; and Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1976), 17 and 42.

126. For early Jesuit assessments of the Brasis, see *MB*, vols. 1 and 2, passim.

127. Herbert Ewaldo Wetzel, *Mem de Sá, terceiro governador geral (1557–1572)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972), chaps. 4–6.



we see that [the Indians'] conversion by love is a very difficult business, whereas being a servile people, they do anything from fear."[128] The veteran Fr. Francisco Pires added, "I have always felt that success was impossible in these two parts without . . . the mercy of the Lord or his justice. . . . Recently justice has entered here, with the naked sword and . . . through the good industry of Lord Mem de Sá. . . . Because of it [the Brasis] are at peace, and since they have physical peace, we are working to give it to them spiritually."[129] A few years later José de Anchieta, a multitalented Canary Islander (b. 1534–d. 1597), who was a relative of both Loyola and Xavier and was later called the "Apostle of Brazil," even added his voice in favor of coercive measures: "We now think that the gates are open for the conversion of the heathen in this captaincy [São Vicente]. For these people there is no better preaching than the sword and iron rod. Here more than for any others it is necessary to adopt the policy of 'compelling them to come in' (Luke, xvi, 23)."[130]

Implementing that policy led to the creation of Jesuit-controlled Indian communities (*aldeias*) situated near white settlements, models of European civilization and Catholicism as well as markets for Indian-produced goods and Jesuit-supervised Indian labor (see Chapter 19). By the mid-1580s Anchieta reckoned that since 1549 the Jesuits had converted over 100,000 Brasis, but he ruefully admitted that only one out of five then remained under Jesuit influence, partly because of disease, especially smallpox, and flight, and also because of persisting enslavement by the settlers.[131] Despite such wastage, a Jesuit official reported in 1601 that the Society was ministering to 50,000 Brasis gathered in 150 aldeias situated along the coast and in the backlands stretching between northeasternmost Brazil and the plateau of São Paulo.[132]

Although the fathers expended much of their energy in rural situations, where they ministered to indigenous peoples and to newly introduced African slaves on the rapidly multiplying sugar plantations, they erected their most enduring institutions in the colony's incipient urban centers, thereby following the practice that also obtained in other parts of the Assistancy. During the formative period, the most conspicuous of those institutions were three colleges. The oldest was that of Bahia, also known as the *colégio máximo*, the same name by which New St. Paul's in Goa would be designated in the later seventeenth century. It remained not only the Order's largest college in Brazil but also its chief administrative center. When Fernão Cardim visited the two-story structure in 1583, he found its construction well advanced, though work continued there and at the other two colleges for the rest of the century. The colégio máximo had 30 large cubicles, many with splendid views of the harbor, organized around its single-nave church. Outside was a handsome garden of vines, fruit

128. Hemming, *Red Gold*, 105.

129. Pires to [Dr. Navarro], 2 Oct. 1559, in *CA*, 247–48.

130. Anchieta to [?], 1563, quoted in *HCJB*, 1: 291, and translated in C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825* (Oxford, 1963), 92.

131. José de Anchieta, *Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias (1584)*, intro. Leonardo Arroyo (São Paulo, 1964). On the beginnings of smallpox outbreaks in Brazil, see D. Alden and Joseph C. Miller, "Unwanted Cargoes: The Origins and Dissemination of Smallpox via the Slave Trade from Africa to Brazil, c. 1560–1830," in Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The African Exchange: Toward a Biological History of Black People* (Durham, N.C., 1987), 35–109.

132. Petition of the provincial, as cited by Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The High Court of Bahia and Its Judges, 1609–1751* (Berkeley, 1973), 129.

TABLE 3.2

*Growth of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Brazil, 1558–1600*

| *Year* | *Number of Jesuits* | *Year* | *Number of Jesuits* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1558 | 25 | 1584 | 140 |
| 1568 | 61 | 1598 | 163 |
| 1574 | 110 | 1600 | 169 |

SOURCES: 1558: *MB*, 2: 459–61; 1568: *MB*, 4: 475–82; 1574, 1584, 1598, and 1600: ARSI, *Bras.*, 5. The 1600 catalogue is also published in *HCJB*, 1: 578–84.

trees, and even a spring.[133] The other two sixteenth-century colleges were situated in Rio de Janeiro and Olinda. Foundations of the former were laid in 1567, after Jesuits had played a significant role in helping Portuguese forces to expel the French from Guanabara Bay. In gratitude, Mem de Sá assigned them a site on Castle Hill in the northeastern quarter of the newly founded city of Rio de Janeiro. Like St. Paul's in Malacca, the college would long remain the most prominent architectural feature on the Carioca landscape, a symbol to be loved and loathed by the Society's friends and opponents. Classes began in 1573, the year the Bahian college awarded its first bachelor's degree.[134] In Pernambuco the college of Olinda was established in 1568, one year after its brother to the south.[135] Five instructional houses (*casas*) were also erected during the 1550s and 1560s in Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, São Vicente, and São Paulo de Piratininga. In time four of them would also be elevated to the status of college.[136]

As the number of missions, instructional houses, and colleges in Brazil grew, the need for helpers intensified. Although there were never enough sent from the kingdom or recruited in Brazil to satisfy local superiors, who must have understood that their province enjoyed a lower priority than did the eastern enterprises at this time, the Society's growth in the province during the second half of the century was impressive (see Table 3.2). The number of Jesuits serving in Brazil more than doubled between 1558 and 1568 and doubled again during the next sixteen years. By 1600 nearly three times as many Jesuits were serving there as had been the case in the late 1560s.[137]

There would have been even more Jesuits there had the province not sustained the greatest double catastrophe that would ever be experienced by any component of the Assistancy until the final expulsions of 1759–60. On 5 June 1570 the largest expedition of Jesuits ever sent to the Portuguese empire sailed from Lisbon under the leadership of Inácio

133. "Narrativa epistolar de uma viagem missão Jesuítica" [1590], in Rodolfo Garcia, ed., *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil* (rpr., Belo Horizonte, 1980), 144. See also *HCJB*, 1: 47–70, esp. the plate facing p. 64.

134. "Historia dos collegios do Brasil," *ABNRJ* 19 (1897): 75–144, is a sixteenth-century Jesuit sketch of the development of the colleges of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro to 1574. See also *HCJB*, 1: 361–408.

135. Concerning its establishment, see *HCJB*, 1: 451–71, and *ABNRJ* 49 (1927): 5–54, a 1576 Jesuit account of the opening of the college.

136. *HCJB*, 1: 189–314.

137. The usually reliable John Hemming errs when he states that there were only 128 Jesuits in the province by the end of the century. *Red Gold*, 98.



de Azevedo. A onetime page in the court of John III, Azevedo possessed an exceptional record of service to the Society, which he had joined in 1548. After being named provincial of Brazil in 1569, he recruited 73 men to accompany him, mostly Portuguese but some Spaniards. They traveled aboard three ships, which first stopped at Madeira, where the governor warned the captains to be alert for French corsairs. On 15 July 1570, as the *Santiago*, bearing the provincial and 46 companions, neared the Canary island of Palma, Huguenots attacked the vessel, boarded it, and cast the provincial and 39 of his companions into the sea, where they drowned. Although a sister ship escaped, contrary winds compelled it to proceed to the Caribbean. After wintering there, the vessel tried for Brazil a second time. On 13 September 1571, it too was attacked near the Azores by another group of corsairs: twelve more Jesuits perished.[138] The loss of 52 recruits and their dynamic leader was a hard blow to the province, but it would not be the last (see Chapter 9).

Although badly shaken by these famous martyrdoms, the province did survive, and it would continue to expand for nearly two more centuries. The Society's situation was quite different in Brazil than in India or in Ceylon, for its agents arrived in what would become Portugal's most productive plantation colony before any other religious body had become successfully established there.[139] Nor would any ecclesiastical rival effectively challenge Jesuit preeminence in evangelical, educational, or cultural activities in the colony until the 1750s.

## *Jesuit Beginnings in Kongo and Angola*

Jesuit achievements in Brazil were far more impressive than were the Order's beginnings on the opposite side of the South Atlantic, in the west central African kingdoms of Kongo (today Zaire) and Angola, whose seacoasts Portuguese navigators first traversed in the 1480s. In 1491 the king of Kongo became the first non-European ruler to accept Christianity, a faith that his son, the famous D. Afonso, and his grandson, D. Henrique, the first black African bishop, also maintained. Although Kongo attracted missionaries from several Orders—the Loios, Franciscans, and Dominicans—the faith did not prosper, in part because of the growing Portuguese involvement in the slave trade.[140] In 1547 Simão Rodrigues responded to a request by John III and dispatched four Jesuits to Kongo, but their mission soon became embroiled in political and economic conflicts, and they withdrew in 1552. A second foray (1553–55) fared no better.[141]

As Kongo declined in importance because of internecine strife, Portuguese interest shifted to the southern kingdom of Angola, where the dominant ruler, the Ngola, requested a Portuguese mission in 1560. Sensing an opportunity to evangelize in more fertile soil, two Jesuit priests and two lay brothers accompanied soldier-adventurer Paulo Dias de Novais,

138. Franco, *Coimbra*, 2: 63–139; idem, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da companhia de Jesus no real collegio do espírito santo de Évora* (Lisbon, 1714), 214–56; Serafim Leite, S.J., "A grande expedição missionária dos mártires do Brasil," reprinted in Leite, *Novas páginas de história do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1965), 207–46; see also *HCJB*, 2: 248–63, *HCJAP*, 2:2, 489–501, and *JSM*, 211–16 and 330–31.

139. The Benedictines began to build their first convent in Brazil in 1581 and were followed by Franciscans and Shod Carmelites (1584), Discalced Carmelites (1665), and various minor Orders. *MHB*, 5: 133–231, 468–69.

140. *HIP*, 2: 271–75; James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 9–21.

141. *HCJAP*, 1:2, 546–56; Ralph Delgado, *Historia de Angola*, 4 vols. (Lobito, 1948–55), 1: 214–17, 224–29.

grandson of the discoverer Bartolomeu Dias, to Angola that year. But the old Ngola's successor turned against the Portuguese, imprisoning Dias de Novais for five years and Fr. Francisco de Gouveia, the missions superior, for the remaining thirteen years of his life. Nevertheless, Fr. Gouveia was able to send messages to Portugal in which he urged the king to conquer Angola to facilitate its Christianization and the exploitation of its mineral riches. Once released, Dias de Novais seconded that recommendation, but it was not until a major uprising occurred in neighboring Kongo that Lisbon named the adventurer governor-proprietor of Angola and sanctioned its military occupation.[142]

When Paulo Dias de Novais sailed from Lisbon in 1575, two Jesuit fathers and two brothers again accompanied him. The next year he founded as his base of operations the town of São Paulo de Luanda on the mainland opposite a long, low island. It was there that the Jesuits established their headquarters. Although they and their successors conducted occasional spiritual embassies to the interior, where they accompanied the endless, fruitless war parties of Dias de Novais, they achieved few conversions. Instead, they devoted most of their efforts to the care of Portuguese inhabitants in Luanda where in 1607 their little casa became a college, the only one that the Society possessed along the entire west coast of the continent. Angola, like the Moluccas, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, remained a hardship assignment for members of the Society. Between 1560 and 1593, eleven of the 26 Jesuits sent there perished from disease. In 1602 there were a dozen Jesuits serving in the colony; five years later all were dead.[143]

If, toward the end of his life, Claudio Aquaviva had commissioned his assistant for Portugal and its dependencies to prepare a progress report summarizing the Society's achievements within that assistancy, he might reasonably have marveled that so few had seemingly accomplished so much. Thanks to the zeal of Simão Rodrigues and his successors and to the ardent support of three successive monarchs, the Society had become the leader of reformed Catholicism and educational innovation in the kingdom. By the early seventeenth century, its agents had erected instructional centers, missions, and hospitals along the littoral of India. They had repeatedly penetrated the powerful Mughal court and were poised to enter Ceylon. Despite Muslim harassment, Jesuits enjoyed some success in the Moluccas, but their greatest triumphs were in Japan, where they survived two serious setbacks and by the end of the sixteenth century continued to enjoy the spiritual loyalty of tens of thousands of followers. Where others had failed, Jesuits succeeded in gaining permanent entry into imperial China, and were carefully building a small but devoted following there. As soon as the crown was ready to make a determined effort to preserve Brazil, Jesuits joined in

142. Joseph C. Miller, "Requiem for the 'Jaga,'" *Cahiers d'études africaines* 13, 1, no. 49 (1973): 121–49, supersedes earlier interpretations of the 1568 Kongo uprising and demonstrates persuasively that the intrusion of cannibalistic, barbarian hordes of so-called "Jaga" from the interior into the kingdom was an oft-repeated figment of many writers' imaginations.

143. For a brief account of early Portuguese interest in Angola, see David Birmingham, *The Portuguese Conquest of Angola* (New York, 1965), chaps. 2–3; see also Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, chap. 3, and Delgado, *Historia de Angola*, 1: 269–349. For a glowing description of the Jesuit college, see António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História geral das guerras angolanas* [1680], 3 vols., ed. José Matias Delgado (rpr., Lisbon, 1972), 3: 12 and n. 16. For Jesuit losses, see Baltasar Afonso, S.J., "Historia da residência dos padres da companhia de Jesus em Angola" [5 Jan. 1594], in António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionária Africana: Africa occidental*, ser. 1, 14 vols. (Lisbon, 1952–72, 1984–85), 4: 577–78; see also 3: 471ff.



the operation, embarking upon a continuing campaign to evangelize among the Brasis and to develop an educational system that no other religious Order ever matched there. Only in Africa were the Society's efforts patently disappointing, whether one looked in Ethiopia or Mozambique or Angola; but even there, the fathers remained optimistic about possible future successes.

In Europe, Jesuits were intimately identified with the forces of Catholic orthodoxy; abroad they became revolutionaries, not among the Europeans whom they hoped to reform, but among the indigenous multitudes whose basic systems of belief and customs they sought to alter through what today would be recognized as behavior modification. As ambassadors of what they, like most Europeans, were convinced was the true faith, they urged political leaders at home to undertake major conquests (e.g., China, Brazil, and Angola) to facilitate the spread of Christianity, and they encouraged local leaders and their subjects to destroy temples, smash images, and desert traditional spiritual leaders. They constantly urged those new in the faith to abandon such deeply rooted customs as polygamy, infanticide, concubinage, intertribal warfare, and even suttee. Although they preferred pacific approaches, the fathers were no more averse than their missionary rivals to the judicious use of force to expedite conversions when circumstances appeared to warrant such tactics. Compulsory conversions surely occurred in sixteenth-century Brazil (as in coeval Spanish America), in Japan, and very probably in India. But Jesuits did not resort to compulsion in China both because they realized that it would be folly to try and because they adhered to Ricci's more subtle and less offensive approach. In their religious as in their economic activities, the Jesuits became markedly skilled pragmatists.

With a few conspicuous exceptions, royal officials overseas applauded and wrote favorably concerning Jesuit achievements. Inevitably, however, the fathers had their critics. In Brazil, the best known during the late sixteenth century was Gabriel Soares de Sousa, a sugar planter, unsuccessful mining prospector, and author of a major chronicle and a secret report, both completed in the 1580s. As a chronicler, Soares de Sousa made favorable remarks concerning the fathers' work, but as a memorialist he expressed very different sentiments. In his report to the crown he presented a set of 44 "charges" against the Jesuits' conduct. He contended that they had become deeply involved in political intrigues in the colony; that they had forsaken their original spiritual mission and had become materialistically oriented; and that they were interested in the Indians primarily because they wished to exploit them for their own purposes. Despite Jesuit efforts to refute those allegations, they would be repeated in substance many times by generations of the Society's critics.[144]

About the same time that Soares de Sousa was attacking the Society in the West, Fr. Gaspar de Lisboa, the Franciscan commissary in Goa, also targeted the Society in the East. He wrote to Portugal's new Spanish monarch to protest the erection of the Society's new "sumptuous and large" professed house, Bom Jesús. Asserting that the Jesuits already possessed several other edifices in or near the capital, he urged the monarch to assign Bom Jesús to the Poor Clares on the ground that a new convent was more urgently needed in the capital than another Jesuit house. He accused the Jesuits of usurping Franciscan missionary

144. D. Alden, "Black Robes Versus White Settlers: The Struggle for 'Freedom of the Indians' in Colonial Brazil," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., *Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian* (Salt Lake City, 1969), 26–27 and sources cited there.

rights in nearby Salsete and claimed that wherever the Loyolans were present they became all-powerful, excessively rich, and troublesome. Though others might praise their activities in Japan, the Franciscan contended, their reckless behavior there had already endangered the future of Christianity in the archipelago.[145]

Significantly, both memorials were addressed to Portugal's new ruler, Philip II of Spain. Each was written during the 1580s, just after that monarch had gained control over Portugal and its empire. The ascendancy of the new regime posed increasingly difficult problems for the Jesuits as the triumphant sixteenth century gave way to the tumultuous seventeenth century.

145. Lisboa to king, Goa, 23 Dec. 1589, in *DI*, 15: 454–61.

CHAPTER 4

# The Perils of Propinquity: The Jesuits and the Crown, 1557–1640

> In the Society there should neither be nor be seen partiality to one side or another among Christian princes or rulers, but in its stead a universal love which embraces our Lord (even though they are adversaries to one another).
>
> —Loyola, *Constitutions*

> The order was given that you should at once give up political negotiations, which were inconsistent with our Institute and never had our consent.
>
> Aquaviva to Henri Sammer, 1 Dec. 1585

Late in the sixteenth century, the provincial of Goa wrote Aquaviva in response to criticism that the Jesuits were seen at the viceregal court with unnecessary frequency. "Our attendance," he insisted, "can not be avoided because of the many transactions (*negocios*) we have concerning the affairs of the Company and of Christianity. It is impossible for a single person to dispose of all of them because the Father of the Christians has his concerns and the Provincial his." But the provincial promised to minimize Jesuit participation in court affairs to the extent possible.[1] The extent to which the Jesuits ought to participate (or refrain from participating) in the political affairs of the lands where they serve has been the subject of debate among Church leaders from the sixteenth century to the present. In our own time a pope has sharply admonished the Society to abstain altogether from political involvements, thereby asking it to turn its back upon its own history, for the Jesuits, like rival religious Orders and secular vested interest groups, have always found it convenient and necessary to be close to the sources of power. For all his apparent unworldliness, Francis Xavier himself had an acute understanding of the sources of political power and of accepted techniques for bringing pressure upon the crown to grant the Society favors. Shortly before his departure from Lisbon for India, he wrote Ignatius,

> It would be a great help if some of the cardinals who are friends of the king would write to him about this [the construction of a Jesuit house] and tell him how well the alms given for the construction . . . will be used. I believe that Cardinal [Rodolfo Pio de] Carpi is a friend of the king, since he is a great friend of Dom Pedro [Mascarenhas, the Portuguese ambassador

1. [Pedro Martins] to Aquaviva, Goa [Nov. 1571], in *DI*, 15: 626. The position of father of the Christians was assigned to certain religious in Brazil and in India who bore special responsibilities for the spiritual welfare of neophytes.

> to Rome]. His letters would be useful, and those of [Cardinal] Santiquatro and those also of other cardinals who you discover are friends of His Highness. If they do not want to write to the king, then they should at least write to Dom Pedro so that he may speak to the king about it and take upon himself the burden of doing this good work.[2]

Envious outsiders always considered those Jesuits who occupied the sensitive position of royal confessor to enjoy exceptional opportunities to influence government policies in behalf of the Society. The perils of such appointments were appreciated by the early generals and the general congregations. In 1602 Claudio Aquaviva issued an instruction entitled "On the Confessors of Princes," a body of regulations confirmed six years later by the general congregation. That instruction stipulated that confessors remain fully under religious discipline and must reside in a local Jesuit house and be answerable to its superior. Mutio Vitelleschi, Aquaviva's successor, later enjoined the newly appointed confessor of Ferdinand II of Austria to take great care "lest he become involved in external and political matters. . . . Let [the confessor] . . . devote himself to those matters only that pertain to the conscience of the prince, or are related to it, and to certain other pious works." The rub came, of course, in defining precisely what were the "external and political matters" that could be separated from concerns of the royal conscience.[3]

As noted in Chapter 2, John III was the first European monarch to request that a Jesuit to serve as his confessor. His grandson, Sebastian, followed suit, as did two of the first three of Portugal's monarchs after 1640. Such requests, as Fr. Robert Bierley has recently observed, posed a serious dilemma for the Society:

> The Jesuits did not want to forego the influence they could exert for the advancement of the Church's interests through men close to the centers of power. Nor could requests for Jesuit confessors from generous benefactors and patrons of the order be turned down without causing ill-feeling and perhaps losing valuable support. But there were [also] disadvantages. Inevitably the popular mind associated the Society, through the confessor, with unpopular or questionable policies. . .; this burdened the Society's pastoral activity. Still greater liabilities were involved with factions in government and entanglement in the rivalries among princes.[4]

The years 1557–1640 represented a particularly trying period for Jesuit leaders in Portugal and in Rome. At the outset the fathers enjoyed exceptional, though unsolicited, influence at court. Later they shared the blame for the Moroccan debacle of 1578. When they failed to find a formula to save the old dynasty, the Portuguese Jesuits paid the price by witnessing the arrival of Spanish rulers, who denied them access to the highest levels of political authority. But during their years of obscurity, the fathers continued to champion the patriotic cause and saw their efforts bear fruit in a revolution they did not organize but whose success they certainly applauded.

2. Xavier to Ignatius, 18 Mar. 1541, in S/*FX*, 1: 719–20.
3. Robert Bierley, S.J., *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J. and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, 1981), 11–12.
4. Ibid., 11.



## *The End of an Ideal King and of a Popular Dynasty*

On 4 August 1578, the forces led by a determined but inexperienced and reckless young monarch, Sebastian, suffered what one historian has termed "the most disastrous battle in Portuguese history," a battle that cost the nation its king and its independence.[5] Though there can be no question about the accuracy of that statement or about the king's responsibility for the disaster at Alcázarquibir, there remains widespread disagreement as to why the childless monarch undertook such a foolhardy, ill-conceived venture in the first place. From the sixteenth century to the present, many writers have insisted that the Jesuits bore ultimate responsibility for the king's action.

Sebastian had become king through one of those dynastic accidents that often bedeviled the Iberian kingdoms. John III (1521–57) and his wife, Catarina de Austria, brought forth nine children, but none survived to succeed to the throne (see Chapter 2). Prince John, their last living son, died eighteen days before his heir, Sebastian, was born in 1554. Soon after, Sebastian's Castilian-born mother, Juana, deserted him and returned to her homeland where, as seen in Chapter 1, she became the only female member of the Society. When John III died of apoplexy, his widow assumed a regency for her grandson but, fatigued by attending to the affairs of state and preoccupied by concerns for her own soul, she retired to a convent in 1562 after transferring the regency to her brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry, archbishop of Lisbon and grand inquisitor. Henry guided his nephew until 1568, when, at age 14, Sebastian was adjudged ready to assume the burdens of kingship. In reality, neither his grandmother nor his granduncle had done as much to prepare the young ruler for the duties of his office as had his educational and spiritual guides, the Jesuits.

The Jesuits assumed much, if not exclusive, responsibility for the young monarch's intellectual and spiritual formation. His instructor in reading and writing was Porto-born Amador Rebêlo (b. 1539–d. 1622), who later became one of the tragic king's early biographers. He also served as missions procurator (see Chapter 12), a compiler of mission accounts, rector of Santo Antão, and professor of humanities and theology at the same institution.[6] For a number of years, Rebêlo was also the "inseparable companion" of the alleged éminence grise of the boy king, Luís Gonçalves da Cámara.

Luís Gonçalves was a member of a distinguished Madeiran family. One of his brothers became the first count of Calheta; another, Martim, served as the ill-tempered *escrivão da puridade* (confidential secretary) in Sebastian's government, a post that gave that dour secular priest vast influence in the affairs of the realm.[7] Luís Gonçalves (b. 1518–d. 1575) entered the Society in Coimbra in 1545. After completing his novitiate in Valencia, he returned

5. OM/*HP*, 1: 312.
6. *PDH*, 6: 114.
7. The most extensive biography of Fr. Luís Gonçalves remains António Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da companhia de Jesus no real collegio de Jesus de Coimbra em Portugal*, 2 vols. (Évora and Coimbra, 1719), 1: 21–54. See also [José Maria] de Queiroz Velloso, *D. Sebastião, 1554–1578*, 3d ed. (Lisbon, 1945), 119–20, 206–7; Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva, *História de Portugal nos séculos xvii e xviii*, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1860), 1: 44, 71. The office of escrivão da puridade was a powerful one that closely approximated that of royal chancellor. Henrique da Gama Barros, *História da administração publica em Portugal nos séculos xii a xv*, 2d ed., ed. Torquato de Sousa Soares, 11 vols. (Lisbon, 1945–54), 3: 230–37.